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HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

OF THE
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

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PUBLISHED QUARTERLY

MARCH
1935

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HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

PUBLISHED WITH THE APPROVAL OF A JOINT
COMMITTEE OF THE GENERAL CONVENTION AND
UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE CHURCH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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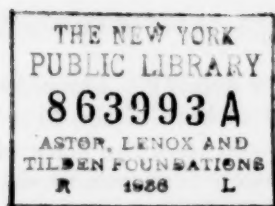
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Notices—The editors are not responsible for the accuracy of the statements of contributors. All communications, including manuscripts and books and pamphlets for review, to be addressed to HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, Garrison, N. Y.

Subscription—Four Dollars per year. Checks should be drawn payable to HISTORICAL MAGAZINE and mailed to G. MACLAREN BRYDON, Treasurer.





Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church

VOL. IV

MARCH, 1935

No. 1

A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN SOUTH CAROLINA

By A. S. Thomas, Bishop of South Carolina

I. BEGINNINGS

CAROLINA was settled under the auspices of a group of eight "Lords Proprietors" who obtained a grant from Charles II in 1663, including a part of North Carolina, and all of South Carolina and Georgia. Nothing was done immediately. The Lords Proprietors received a second charter in 1665 including a grant to all territory between 29 degrees and 36 degrees and 30 minutes north latitude. Under this charter the Colony specifically now called "Carolina" was founded. It granted to the Lords Proprietors "the patronage and advowsons of all the churches and chappels which as the Christian religion shall increase within the Province, territory, islets and limits aforesaid, shall happen hereafter to be erected, together with license and power to build and found churches, chappels, and oratories in convenient and fit places within the said bounds and limits, and to cause them to be dedicated and consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of our Kingdom of England."

The Proprietors engaged the celebrated philosopher, John Locke, to draw up a model form of government for the Province. This he did in what was known as the "Fundamental Constitutions."* The limits of this article permit us to say little about this remarkable instrument. It provided for an aristocratic form of government

*Cf. Article by the late Bishop Cheshire on "The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina." *Hist. Mag.*, Vol. I, pps. 204-221.

with an hereditary nobility. The eldest Lord Proprietor was called Palatine—"a sort of king of the Province"; a deputy Palatine was called Governor who took the place of the Palatine in his absence. In addition there were three other orders, Landgraves, Cassiques, and Barons. Nearly all the governors under the Proprietors were Landgraves. The nobility were given two-fifths of the land and the people at large three-fifths. The "Fundamental Constitutions" were never accepted by the colonists. However, they continued to be nominally in effect for fifty years and had a distinct influence until the Revolution of 1719, when Carolina became a Royal Province.

Following the provision of the Charter, the Fundamental Constitutions contained the following clause: "As the country comes to be sufficiently planted, and distributed into fit divisions, it shall belong to the Parliament to take care for the building of churches and the public maintenance of divines, to be employed in the exercise of religion, according to the Church of England; which being the only true and authodox, and the national religion of all the King's dominions, is also of Carolina; and therefore it alone shall be allowed to receive public maintenance by grant of Parliament." Although the Constitutions were never assented to by the people and never constitutionally in force, yet under the Charter, the Church of England was considered in a general way as established. However, the second charter provided "that no dissenter from the Established Church shall be in any way molested for any difference of opinion, so long as he behaves himself peacefully, any law or statute of England to the contrary notwithstanding." The Constitutions provided that "no man could become a freeman, or have any estates or habitation in Carolina, who did not believe in a God, and that he was to be publicly worshipped; but that Jews, Heathen and other dissenters from the purity of the Christian religion, were to be tolerated. Any seven or more persons agreeing in any religion might constitute a church, and should be protected in their worship. No person, however, over seventeen years of age not a member of some church or religious profession, could claim the protection of law or hold any place of honor or profit." Provision for such liberty in religion was perhaps unequaled among the American Colonies save probably in Rhode Island. In the actual history that followed there were indeed not a few lapses from the ideal provided, but these were always temporary—they were quite promptly and successfully resisted, and liberty of opinion did generally prevail.

It must be admitted that this liberty in religion may in the beginning have been somewhat at the expense of intensity of conviction. No one could claim that the religious motive predominated in the settlement of Carolina; it was secondary doubtless to economic

and political motives, but nevertheless the religious motive was conspicuous as would appear from the provisions cited and from facts which we must now recount.

Under direction of the Lords Proprietors the first permanent settlement in South Carolina was made in 1670 at Charles Town, on the west bank of the Ashley River, with William Sayle as Governor and colonists from England. The site chosen never seems to have been considered permanent. Very soon the present site of Charleston, between the Ashley and Cooper rivers, was chosen as a permanent location, and a town laid out. It was occupied in 1680. A prominent location was reserved for a Church in the new town and here the first church was built with the name of St. Philip, about 1681. The same site is now occupied by St. Michael's Church, built in 1751-1762, when a second parish became necessary in the city. St. Philip's had been moved to Church Street, its present location, in 1723, when the first building of "black cypress" began to decay. This second structure was greatly admired. Dalcho* says, "The celebrated Edmund Burke, speaking of this Church, says, it 'is spacious and executed in a very handsome taste, exceeding everything of that kind which we have in America,' and the biographer of Whitefield calls it 'a grand Church resembling one of the new churches in London.'" It was destroyed by fire in 1835 and succeeded by the even more beautiful present St. Philip's Church.

Notwithstanding the fact that apparently no church building was erected in the Colony for some ten or fifteen years after the first settlement (though very soon after the permanent site was occupied), yet the religious motive was active in the Colony from the first. Within three months after the first landing we find Governor Sayle importuning the Proprietors to send to them a clergyman, asking for "one Mr. Sampson Bond," then in Bermuda. He did not come, although the Proprietors made him a generous offer. Another effort was made a few months later backed by the leading men of the Colony; the need of an able minister was urged, by which youth might be reclaimed and the people instructed. "The Israelites prosperity decayed when their prophets were wanting, for where the ark of God is," said the Governor, "there is peace and tranquillity." It was not until about 1680 that the desire for a clergyman was attained by the coming of Rev. Atkin Williamson, who exercised his ministry in the Colony for thirty years and was given a pension by the Assembly in his old age (1710). Rev. Samuel Marshall, A. M., was appointed to the cure of St. Philip's in 1696. This "sober, worthy, able and learned divine"

**Historical account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina, by Rev. Frederick Dalcho, M.D., Charleston.*

died of yellow fever in 1699—his successful ministry was all too short. In 1698 the Assembly established a living for the rector of St. Philip's. In the same year Mrs. Afra Coming left a valuable glebe for the Church. Both St. Philip's and St. Michael's Churches still enjoy an income from this donation. Marshall was succeeded as rector by Rev. Edward Marston, A. M., a Jacobite, who caused great contention. Toward the end of the century Rev. William Corbin ministered to the settlers about Goose Creek, where a church had been erected. This was the first Episcopal church erected outside of Charles Town. Thus by the end of the century, four clergymen of the Church of England had ministered in the Colony. In Charles Town there had also been erected a Congregational Church (about 1690), a French Protestant Church (about 1693), a Quaker Meeting House (about 1696), and a Baptist Church (about 1700).

Meanwhile there was taking place a movement destined to have great effect upon the life of the Colony. A few Huguenots settled in Carolina within the first decade after the original settlement, but after the Revocation they came in large numbers, establishing themselves principally in Charles Town and at three or four other points where churches were established. The gospel was first preached outside of the city by the Huguenots. The coming of these moral and religious people with their industrial habits added greatly to the social and economic life of the Province. They met with difficulties—there was a disposition among the English to withhold both political and religious liberty from them, notwithstanding the liberal provisions of both the Charter and the Constitution. However, the Lords Proprietors espoused their cause very warmly and in a few years the differences were adjusted. Within about twenty-five years, practically all the Huguenots and their churches were absorbed into the Establishment, the only exceptions being the Church in Charles Town, which to this day maintains its identity in its beautiful house of worship, and a later settlement at New Bordeaux in the upper country which turned to the Presbyterians.

In view especially of the untrue and almost absurd representation of the early settlers of Carolina in a popular American Church history* based on a prejudiced witness, as a band of "bankrupt pirates" and desperadoes, it may be said that while they were not a company of saints (though there were saints among them), they have been correctly described in these words: "They were not adventurers imbued with the spirit of conquest, but they were earnest men from every walk in life who came to seek new homes in a new country. They brought with them the customs and traditions of an older civilization. Some were

**McConnell's.*

colonists prepared to work in field and forest and some were men of means who came with their retinue of slaves to seek new fortunes in a new land. The settlement grew slowly. A spirit of self-reliance was necessarily engendered. What made this feeling of independence all the more prevalent was the distance that separated the Colony from the other English settlements to the north of Carolina. The settlements in Carolina from the very beginning were isolated and the Colonists realized that their safety depended upon themselves alone. This cultivated in them the practice of taking care of themselves and of not looking for help from the outside." It is not difficult to trace this independence of spirit in the subsequent history of South Carolina. As early as 1682 we find the Assembly passing an Act for "the better observation" of the Lord's Day, and for the suppression of idleness, drunkenness, and profanity. Similar Acts were promulgated later from time to time.

The year 1702 is notable in this period. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts had been incorporated in England in June, 1701. Their first missionary to South Carolina was the third sent by the Society to America. This was the Rev. Samuel Thomas, who arrived on Christmas Day, 1702. Not until the arrival of this Missionary, who labored zealously for four years, had any systematic work been done by the Church of England outside of Charles Town. It was designed that Thomas should work among the Indians, but these being at war, Governor Johnson assigned him to work at Goose Creek and on the Cooper and Wando Rivers. He died of a "pestilential fever" October, 1706, having made one visit back to England, submitting to the Society a very full report of conditions in Carolina at that time. The Governor and Council in reporting Mr. Thomas's death applied to the Society for four more ministers. This was the beginning of the very great work done by the Venerable Society in South Carolina. In all fifty-four missionaries were sent to this Colony—more than to any other American Colony except New York, to which fifty-eight were supplied. One hundred and twenty-nine clergymen are listed as laboring in South Carolina during the colonial period. Thus approximately two-fifths of the whole number were missionaries of the S. P. G. In 1771, however, the Church had become so strong in the Colony that the Society had only one missionary here. Not only did the Society send missionaries but they established a school in Charles Town, distributed books, and established parish libraries.

II. ESTABLISHMENT

Although it was intended that the Church of England should be established in the Colony, and this was nominally conceded, yet if we except the voting by the Assembly of a maintenance for the rector of St. Philip's Church in 1698, this establishment did not take definite form until the famous "Church Act" of 1706. Indeed it was in 1704 that the first Church Act was passed for establishing the Church, but some of the provisions of this act caused so much irritation to both Dissenters and Churchmen that it was repealed. One provision was the appointment of a lay commission for the trial of ecclesiastical causes. The S. P. G. resolved not to send any more missionaries until the law was repealed. The provision, it may be said, was intended as a means of getting rid of a pestilent rector (Marston) of St. Philip's.

By the act of 1706 the Church was legally established. This Church Act is a very elaborate instrument. Beginning with directions for worship by the use of the Book of Common Prayer, it goes on with detailed provision for every element of parish life. By the act the Colony was divided into nine parishes in addition to St. Philip's in Charles Town, as follows: Christ Church Parish; St. Thomas'; St. John's; St. James's, Goose Creek; St. Andrew's; St. Dennis; St. Paul's; St. Bartholomew's; St. James', Santee. The names of these parishes reveal the influence of the Barbadoes in early Carolina. Many of the settlers came from there. As in the Barbadoes, by this Act the Church wardens and vestrymen were invested with many civil as well as ecclesiastical duties. Especially were they entrusted with the duty of caring for the poor. Thus a Church organization was set up covering practically the whole colony. Provision was made for the immediate erection of churches in six of the parishes as also for rectories and glebes. These provisions of the act were soon executed. Some of the church buildings which were erected under the act were succeeded by other and larger buildings,—some fell into ruin. However, three still stand and are in use—St. James', Goose Creek; St. Andrew's; and Christ Church. Other parishes were soon established. At the time of the Revolution the number had increased to twenty-two. Governor Glen, writing in 1710, states that the population was at this time about ten thousand. One-half were Episcopalians. There were three thousand negroes. Of the total number, three thousand lived in Charles Town. The results of the Church Act were highly successful. Ramsay* says, "Endowing the Episcopal Church was the means of introducing about one hundred Episcopal Clergymen

**History of South Carolina*, by David Ramsay, M.D., Charleston, 1858.

into the country, who were men of regular education and useful in their profession."

From an early date the missionaries gave attention to a matter otherwise much neglected in the Colony—both Thomas and LeJau spent much time in instructing white and black. In 1711 the S. P. G. established a school in Charles Town. Its success being demonstrated, the next year the Assembly passed an act establishing free schools in all the parishes—that in Charles Town was immediately combined with the S. P. G. school. Education received an impetus through the influence of the first royal Governor in 1721. Bequests for the education of the poor were made by Richard Beresford of St. Thomas's parish, and by Richard Ludlam, Missionary at St. James', Goose Creek, who was indefatigable in his efforts for the instruction of both whites and negroes. It is interesting that both of these legacies, though much depleted, are still contributing to the cause of education in these old parishes. Commissary Garden established a school for negroes in Charles Town in 1742.

In 1719 South Carolina revolted from the Lords Proprietors and became a Royal Province.

The Church in Carolina suffered much from the many disasters that befell the Colony—the repeated scourges of yellow fever, the terrific hurricanes and especially in the terrible Indian massacre of 1715 and the ensuing war with the Yemassee. Ruin and the ashes of churches and dwellings marked the progress of the enemy. In spite of all its difficulties, the Church grew steadily. Hewatt,* the historian, testifies soon after 1730, "The Episcopalian form of Divine worship had gained ground in Carolina and was more countenanced by the people than any other. That zeal for the right of private judgment had much abated, and those prejudices against the hierarchy which the first emigrants carried from England with them, were now almost entirely worn off from the succeeding generation * * * At this time the S. P. G. had no less than twelve missionaries in South Carolina. * * * Spacious churches had been erected, which were pretty well supplied with clergymen." However, all did not move smoothly. There was no little religious dissention in the Colony and opposition to the Church. A letter from the clergy to the Bishop of London in 1724 represents the Church as in "a very prosperous and flourishing condition * * * so neither can we but testify that it is without the least infringement of any of the rights or liberties of dissenters, * * *. We have now a flourishing school in Charles Town. * * * Dissention from the Church is chiefly supported

**An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia*, by Alexander Hewatt, D.D., 1779.

by means of dissenting teachers from New England, and that part of Great Britain called Scotland, who transplant hither their dissenting principles."

The jurisdiction of the Bishop of London was acknowledged in Carolina practically from the first. He was fortunate in the three men who served successively as his Commissaries here, all being men of integrity and ability—Rev. Gideon Johnson, 1701-1716; Rev. W. T. Bull, 1723; and Rev. Alexander Garden, 1726-1756. The last named as rector of St. Philip's and Commissary became the leading figure for a generation in the life of the Church. He was both firm and gentle, a leader and a disciplinarian, not hesitating to arraign the clergy for misconduct. The clergy early formed the habit of meeting in convocation. LeJau in 1712 says, "The clergy met and conferred together in a most loving and unanimous manner." The Commissaries held regular visitations. On the 13th Visitation of Commissary Garden it was agreed that thereafter assize sermons should be preached by the clergy in order of seniority. While Carolina had a share in that worthless class of men from which all the colonies suffered, it is remarkable that they were as a rule a high class of men, as the best historians all testify. Concerning his visit in 1737, John Wesley says that he had "such a conversation on Christian Righteousness" as he had not heard at any Visitation, or hardly on any other occasion. In 1762, the clergy formed themselves into a Society for the Relief of the Widows and Orphans of the Clergy. Later laymen were included as members. This society still continues its beneficent work.

The churchmanship of a leading missionary just before the Revolution is described as "of that steady character which is not easily shaken by alarms; for while he mentions without comment that surplices were worn only in the three towns, he also tells as equally without comment, that St. Philip's was built after the model of the Jesuits' Church at Antwerp, and has rich cloths and coverings not only for the pulpit, but also for the *altar*."

The Church in Carolina just before the Revolution, with its twenty-two parishes nearly all filled with clergymen, was in a flourishing condition—a large work was being done among both whites and negroes, but dark days were ahead.

III. THE REVOLUTION AND AFTER

In considering the depleted condition of the Church in South Carolina after the Revolution there are certain facts in connection with that long struggle often overlooked by American writers. As

McCrary* says, "The conditions of affairs in South Carolina was without parallel in the history of the Revolution. No other State was so completely overrun by British forces. There was no part of her territory, from the mountain to the seaboard, which was not trod by hostile forces, no ford or ferry that was not crossed by armed men in pursuit or retreat, no swamp that was not cover to lurking foes. No other State was so divided upon the questions at issue, and in none other did men of both sides so generally participate in the struggle." Fifteen out of twenty clergymen had embraced the cause of independence—a record probably unequalled in any other colony. Dr. Robert Smith, rector of St. Philip's, who was to be the first Bishop of the Diocese, was "banished" to Philadelphia by the British after they took Charles Town. As impartial a historian as Bancroft says, "Left mainly to her own resources, it was through the depths of wretchedness, that her sons were to bring her back to her place in the republic, after suffering more and daring more and achieving more than the men of any other State." When the storm was over, its destructive effects were visible in many ways. During the years of struggle there had developed a strong antipathy to British institutions. There was, however, an active minority which espoused the Royal cause, and this but increased bitterness of feeling. The war ended, but it took many years to effect adjustments in view of the revolution in thought and life. The difficulties of the time were accentuated in the Church. J. J. Pringle Smith† thus well describes the situation: "Whoever will carefully peruse the journals of the early conventions must recognize another of many instances in which the Church out of weakness was made strong. Time permits no more than an allusion to trials, obstacles, delays, final triumphs. The people were reduced in means and not of one mind; the churches no more received aid from Government, no appropriations being now made for building new or repairing old; the Clergy were few in number and no longer allowed salaries by law; above all, the Church was still, as Commissary Garden had written in 1750 to the Bishop of London, without 'so essential a part of their being as that of a Bishop or Bishops personally presiding over or governing them; in their present condition certainly without a parallel in the Christian Church in any age or country, from the beginning.'" The vestries were jealous of their rights and it was with the greatest difficulty that agreement could be reached as to a diocesan constitution and by-laws. In contrast to what we find before and after, for thirty years following the Revolution the Church's light burnt low. During this period

**History of South Carolina*, by Edward McCrary. McMillan and Co. 1902.

†*Address In Commemoration of the Planting of the Church of England in the Province of Carolina*, by J. J. Pringle Smith, 1875.

the attendance at the Conventions (twenty-four were held in the first thirty years) did not average over eight parishes, although most of the twenty-two parishes had delegates present from time to time.

It was on May 12, 1785, in the State House in Charleston that the first Convention of the Diocese was held. Another meeting was held in the same year, July 12, when deputies were elected to the first General Convention. Hence it is that this year is the Sesqui-Centennial of the Diocese.

It was not until 1795 that the fatal need which had been lacking to the Church in South Carolina for over a hundred years was supplied by the consecration of Rev. Robert Smith, D. D., to be its first Bishop. He was the sixth in the American succession. It has been contended that South Carolina acceded to the plan of General Convention on condition that "no bishop would be sent to South Carolina." It is also said that South Carolina has always resented this. Doubtless both of these statements are correct, but they are not difficult of explanation. When the first is understood the second is thereby explained. I need not recall that background of opinion prevalent in all the colonies that Episcopacy was a sort of appendage of monarchy with pomp and powers temporal as well as spiritual. This did tend to caution, perhaps over-caution. It might well be conceded also that through long deprivation some had learned to undervalue the office. However, this is what really happened: when the Convention of the diocese in April, 1786, considered the sixth section of the Constitution proposed by General Convention, which was as follows, "The bishop, or bishops, in every state shall be chosen agreeably to such rules as shall be fixed by the respective Conventions, and every bishop, etc." Its action was, "Rule 6. Objected to; so far as relates to the establishment of a bishop in South Carolina. But recommend that the word *State* be inserted between the words *respective* and *Conventions*." Whether the Convention had reason or not to think "respective conventions" might refer to the General Convention, it was evidently so construed by them. What the diocese objected to therefore was not to the establishment of a bishop in South Carolina, but the mode of such establishment. What they feared was something similar to our present method of electing missionary bishops. That this position did not indicate any weakness concerning the necessity of the Episcopal Order but only caution as to its "establishing" is made perfectly clear by the fact that another Convention meeting five weeks later adopted as Article IV of its own Constitution this, "That the succession of the Ministry be agreeable to the usage which requireth the three Orders of Bishops, Priests and Deacons (with the exception, however, to the establishing of Bishops

in this State,) that the rights and powers of the same be respectively ascertained, and that they be exercised according to reasonable laws to be duly made." The most that can be said is that South Carolina was possibly over jealous of its ancient right as a diocese to choose its own bishop.

This it did after some delay. Bishop Smith was preceded in the American Episcopate by only five other bishops. As far as the record goes he never confirmed. The reason we are unable to give other than the confused life of the Church at the time. We hesitate to sit in judgment on this faithful minister of God after reading the record of his wise, fatherly, and active leadership of the Church in South Carolina before, during and after the Revolution. It was his influence that kept the Church together during a trying time and led it into prompt co-operation with General Convention, of which he was a faithful and active member. Bishop Smith died in 1801 and for eleven years the diocese was without a bishop.

IV. RENAISSANCE

The dawn of a better day began to break. In 1810 under the leadership of Dr. Theodore Dehon there was established "The Society for the Advancement of Christianity in South Carolina." Its object was "the promotion of Christian knowledge, learning and piety in this Diocese." This with the election and consecration of Rev. Theodore Dehon as the second bishop signalized the beginning of the new day. With unusual gifts of intellect and Christian character, Bishop Dehon was well fitted for the task of conciliation before him; in fact, already as President of the Standing Committee he had proven his capacity in such wise that all united in calling him to the Episcopate. They were not disappointed. It is interesting that the second and third bishops of South Carolina were both born in Boston, both also rectors of St. Michael's Church, and both are buried under the chancel of this Church—Dehon and Bowen.

The Advancement Society immediately began a great work. Few new churches in the diocese for the next one hundred years were established without the fostering care of this Society. It was the successor here of the S. P. G. Its first missionary was Rev. Andrew Fowler, whose life will be found in the last issue of this Magazine. Mr. Fowler began his work by planting the Church in Columbia and in Camden. This clergyman also had the distinction of presenting the first Confirmation Class in the Diocese—to Bishop Dehon at Trinity Church, Edisto Island, March 30, 1813.

From this time onwards the Church again grew and prospered.

Great attention was given to the instruction and confirmation of negroes. There were a large number of chapels for their use on the plantations and nearly all the churches had seats for them in the galleries. A detailed history of this time would be beyond the limits of this sketch. During this period Boone went from this Diocese to China, Scott to Oregon, Rutledge to Florida, and Gregg to Texas. The pages of the *Southern Episcopalian* show clearly the interest of the Church here in those days in the wider work of the Church. Very many clergymen went from this diocese to other fields. St. Helena's Church, Beaufort, perhaps has a record, sending forty-six men, it is said, into the ministry, including the Barnwells, Pinckneys, and Elliotts.

The steady growth of the Church is seen in the fact that in 1861 it numbered seventy-two clergy, sixty-seven Parishes and Churches, besides many mission congregations worshipping in chapels, nearly three thousand white communicants,—and it is noteworthy that there were at this time an equal number of colored communicants.

But we cannot entirely omit mention of the coming of another dark period. I shall not attempt to recall here what the Church suffered from 1861 to 1865. Suffice it to compare the figures just given with those of 1874—forty-eight clergy, fifty-three parishes in operation, twelve suspended and dormant—an increase of white communicants to nearly four thousand, but a decrease of black to about six hundred—about one-eighth of the whole against one-half in 1861. Nor can I more than mention the fact that again was the Church riven with dissension on the colored question beginning in 1886. It took years to heal the wounds of this controversy. This was accomplished in largest measure through the wisdom and the loving spirit of Right Reverend Ellison Capers, the seventh bishop of the diocese.

In 1921, when Right Rev. William A. Guerry was bishop and Right Rev. K. G. Finlay was Coadjutor, the diocese was divided, the latter becoming Bishop of the Diocese of Upper South Carolina.

Thus its Sesqui-Centennial brings before this diocese a checkered history. Time and again it has been in the wilderness, but always a merciful Father has led it on to a better place. Today it reverences a wonderful heritage from the past and looks with hope to the future while it joins in felicitations to its sister dioceses who are also celebrating their similar anniversaries.

ALEXANDER VIETS GRISWOLD AND THE EASTERN DIOCESE

By William Wilson Manross

ONE of the greatest weaknesses of the Episcopal Church during the period when it was attempting the conquest of this continent was its inability to generate organisms adapted to the new conditions with which it was faced. The "federated diocese," of which the Eastern Diocese was the only successful example, is one of the few exceptions to this rule which we can find in our early history. It had no definite precedent, and it was not the offspring of anyone's theory of polity. It was the creation of practical men, trying to deal with a practical problem, and it proved highly successful, under proper leadership, in serving the ends for which it had been organized. State feeling was too strong, in the early days of the nineteenth century, to permit the fusion of several states into a single diocese, but the civil constitution had already acquainted people with the advantages of a federal organization, and General Convention itself furnished an example of an ecclesiastical federation on a national scale. When, therefore, the individual states of New England found themselves unable to obtain bishops severally, it naturally occurred to them to join together for this particular purpose while retaining their separate organizations for all other purposes.

The scheme had its origin in an informal meeting of the clergy of Massachusetts and Rhode Island called together by the Rev. William Montague.¹ As a result of plans adopted at this meeting, the Massachusetts Convention of 1810 appointed a committee to raise funds for the support of a bishop, and directed its standing committee to "invite the several parishes of the Episcopal Church within the states of New Hampshire and Rhode Island to join with this convention in providing for the support and in the election of a bishop to preside over the churches in these states."² This invitation was subsequently extended to Vermont, and on September 26, 1810, representatives from these four states came together at Boston and adopted a constitu-

¹J. S. Stone: *Memoir of the Rt. Rev. Alexander Viets Griswold, Philadelphia, 1844.*

²*Diocese of Massachusetts, Journal of Conventions, 1784-1828, Boston, 1849, 106.*

tion for "The Eastern Diocese of the Protestant Episcopal Church," which provided that they should co-operate in the election of a bishop, and not much else. That the organization proposed to perpetuate itself, however, was shown by the fact that it provided for the election of a successor in the event of the Bishop's death.³

The man who was chosen almost unanimously to lead the new diocese was the Rev. Alexander Viets Griswold, who was then and for many years afterwards rector of St. Michael's Church, Bristol, Rhode Island. He had been born April 22, 1766, in Simsbury, Connecticut, the son of a prosperous farmer. He was brought up an Episcopalian, for his father's family, which was of English origin, had always belonged to the Church, and his mother, though the daughter of a German Calvinist, had been converted by her brother, the Rev. Roger Viets, a missionary of the S. P. G.

Mrs. Griswold was a strict parent who, when she could not think of anything else for her son to do, set him the unwelcome task of making "bone lace." She was also a devoted mother, however, and, amid the myriad duties of a farmer's wife, she still found time to teach the boy to read before he was three. By the time he was ten the precocious child had learned as much as his mother could teach him, and he was sent to his uncle, Roger Viets, a man of learning and the owner of a well stocked library. Viets was to Griswold both a preparatory school and a college, for an early marriage prevented his going to Yale for a more formal education, though it is said that his literary attainments were equal to those of most college men. His marriage also deterred him from joining Viets in the Tory exodus to Nova Scotia at the close of the Revolution.

Having acquired a wife, Griswold took to farming as a means of supporting her, continuing his studies by the light of the fire at night. In 1794 he became a candidate for orders under Bishop Seabury and immediately began his parochial labors, as was the custom of the time. He had charge of three small churches in Litchfield County, Connecticut, where he managed to build up respectable congregations by spending a good deal of his time on horseback, visiting the people, holding special services and delivering week-day "preaching lectures" at private houses, in addition to the regular services on Sundays. For this work he received a salary of three hundred dollars a year, which he supplemented by working as a farm laborer in summer and teaching school in winter. He was ordained deacon in June, 1795, and priest the following October, the latter being Seabury's last ordination. In 1804 he accepted a call to St. Michael's Church, Bristol, Rhode Island. This had been one of the strong parishes in colonial

³*Considerations on the Eastern Diocese, anon., Boston, 1837, 33.*

times, but had declined during the revolutionary period so that it had only twenty communicants when Griswold went there. Under his care it revived rapidly, so that by 1813 he was able to report 148 communicants.

It must have been his success as a parochial minister that led to his election as Bishop, for he had done nothing else to bring himself into prominence. Though he took part in the early measures for the organization of the Eastern Diocese, he was planning to return to Connecticut at the time of its first convention, and it was only with reluctance that he accepted the office which that meeting tendered him.⁴ His hesitation was due to his habitual distrust of his own abilities, and not to an unwillingness to face the difficulties of the new office, though these were such as might well have dismayed a heart less stout than his own. At the time of his election there were only fifteen clergymen in the four states comprising his diocese, and twenty-two church buildings, many of which were in poor repair. Thirteen of the churches were in Massachusetts and two more were in Maine, which was then a part of that state, which left only five for New Hampshire, four for Rhode Island, and none for Vermont.⁵ What was worse, the existing condition represented a regression from a more prosperous state, many flourishing parishes of the colonial period having been crushed by the Revolution. St. Paul's, Portland, was thought to be on the point of expiring, St. Michael's, Marblehead, was very feeble, the church at Taunton "had its very name trodden out by the iron hoof of revolutionary war," the parish of Bridgewater was still recumbent in its ashes and of some other churches all trace was lost.⁶

There were, moreover, a number of circumstances which made it seem unlikely that the time was a favorable one for a church revival. The colonial hostility to the episcopate, though it had been softened to some extent, was still strong, especially in New England. The association of prelacy with papacy still dominated the thinking of most New Englanders, and, though the achievement of political independence had removed any cause for fearing that bishops might become agents of civil tyranny, the struggle through which that independence had been won had served to tar most Episcopalians with a suspicion of Toryism, which was only just beginning to wear off. Westward migration, as yet uncompensated for by the importation of industrial laborers, was threatening to give New England a static, if not a declining population, and was drawing off precisely that class of young and discontented individuals to which an invading church

⁴Stone: *op. cit.*, 1-118.

⁵*Journal of the Eastern Diocese, Boston, 1839, 14.*

⁶Stone: *op. cit.*, 202-3.

must make its chief appeal. Nearly all of those who remained were already decided in their religious beliefs, and most of them had decided in favor of something besides episcopacy and liturgical prayer. while Unitarianism seemed likely to win most of the intellectual malcontents who might otherwise have been drawn to the Episcopal Church. Within the Church there had been, during the period which was just closing, a weakness and apparent lassitude which gave little promise of the energy which was soon to be shown, and there was also a distressing shortage of ministers which the call of the West kept from being adequately supplied for any years to come.⁷

This is the darker side of the picture. The lighter side can be seen more clearly by the present-day student than it could have been by Griswold and his contemporaries, for it is the result of forces which were then only just beginning to become apparent. The most important of these forces was the decay of Puritanism, a gradual process which has been a determining factor in much of the moral and religious history of our country. It had begun in the eighteenth century, but it was to assume an accelerated pace during the nineteenth and to continue, until today there is no religious group in the land which can properly be said to represent the full Puritan tradition. Parallel to it went an apparently contradictory movement, the waning of the spirit of religious indifference which had pervaded the revolutionary era. Between these two trends a ferment was set up, not only in New England, but in the country at large from which any religious denomination that was on the spot and alive to its opportunities might hope to profit.

Within the Church the long period of recuperation which followed on the revolutionary struggle and the effort of reorganization was drawing to a close and the conditions of a healthier life were beginning to appear. Some, at least, of the older parishes had become sufficiently revived to lend support to measures of expansion, and younger men, such as Griswold and his famous contemporary, Bishop Hobart of New York, were coming into the ministry with their eyes set upon the possibilities of the future rather than upon the failures of the past. The mild and discreet behavior of the early bishops, if it had not done much to increase the Church's activity, had served to quiet the distrust with which many American Episcopalians had previously regarded the office of bishop, so that they were now ready to admit an extension of episcopal activity in leading the expansion of the Church.

These circumstances, however, merely served to provide the Church with an opportunity for expansion in New England, as elsewhere. How effectively the opportunity was to be utilized in that

⁷Cf., *Journal of the Eastern Diocese, Boston, 1837.*

particular region depended mainly upon the qualities of the man who had been chosen to head the new diocese. With proper leadership, the difficulties could be overcome and the opportunities realized; without it, the obstacles must prove overwhelming. Fortunately, it soon became apparent that the new bishop was admirably fitted for the post. One who knew Griswold well in his later years has described him as a shy, silent man, who liked to cut his visits short for fear that he would run out of conversation,⁸ but he also was a man of great physical strength, with unwearied patience, quiet determination, sound judgment, a love of peace and an unlimited capacity for hard work.

He had been brought up under High Church influences, but had become a moderate Evangelical early in his ministry, having decided that the fundamental teachings of the Gospel, as he understood them, rather than the distinctive doctrines of the Church, should receive the chief emphasis in preaching.⁹ This did not mean, in his case, any lack of affection for the Church or its institutions. He held the threefold ministry to be of dominical¹⁰ origin and he maintained that the rubrics and canons of the Church gave sufficient scope for the most ardent piety and zeal,¹¹ but he did not believe that these opinions should be given the first place in our propaganda. Though he regarded the contemporary dispute concerning baptismal regeneration as mainly a verbal one, he insisted that to admit that some sort of regeneration took place in baptism did not lessen the importance which was to be attached to subsequent "spiritual regeneration," by which he meant conscious conversion.¹² He agreed with his contemporaries, and with his eighteenth century predecessors in distrusting "enthusiasm," or, as we should say, emotionalism, but he condemned the practice of "branding everything ardent and spiritual in religion with the name of Methodism."¹³ Like all Episcopalians of his day, he rejected the Calvinistic view of predestination. He thought, to be sure, that some sort of predestination was taught both by Scripture and the Church, but, he said, "Those gloomy notions of reprobation, which have driven some to desperation or other dangerous downfall, originate in the groundless fears or presumptuous reasonings of men."¹⁴ This position gave his teaching a note of liberalism when it was contrasted

⁸T. M. Clark: *Reminiscences*, N. Y., 1895, 67-73.

⁹Stone: *op. cit.*, 119.

¹⁰A. V. Griswold: *The Apostolic Office*, Philadelphia, n. d.

¹¹Griswold: *Christ's Warning to the Churches*, N. Y., 1817, 17.

¹²Griswold: *Discourses on the Most Important Doctrines and Duties of the Christian Religion*, Philadelphia, 1839, 215-27.

¹³Griswold: *Address to the Tenth Convention of the Eastern Diocese*, Boston, 1825, 14.

¹⁴Griswold: *Discourses*, 150.

with the dominant religion of New England, but he was far from going the length of Unitarianism or Universalism. He held that, without orthodoxy, no church was safe,¹⁵ and of the doctrine of the corruption of human nature he said, "It lies at the foundation of Christian theology and is essential to the doctrines of grace."¹⁶

The differences between High Churchman and Evangelical at this period related much more to questions of practice than of doctrine, and in the former respect Griswold's Evangelicalism showed itself even more plainly than in his teaching. He was one of the first clergymen in New England to hold Sunday evening "lectures," or informal sermons followed by extemporaneous prayers, and his regard for prayer meetings was so strong that even his habitual distaste for controversy could not prevent him from rallying to their defence when they were attacked by a High Church periodical in Boston.¹⁷ He favored the informal clerical associations, or "convocations" which were then regarded as peculiarly Evangelical, and he gave active support to interdenominational Bible Societies and the Temperance Movement, both of which were the offspring of Evangelical Protestantism. Though staid and quiet in his personal demeanor, he inclined towards emotionalism in his preaching, and regarded it as a cause for encouragement when his hearers were moved to tears.¹⁸ Under his leadership the Churchmanship of New England, outside of Connecticut, acquired a predominantly Evangelical character which contrasted with the prevailing High Churchmanship of the colonial period, and also with the strong High Church tendencies which developed in New York under his contemporary, Bishop Hobart. That both systems proved about equally effective in building up the Church would seem to indicate that the cause for the success of these two Bishops must be sought in what were about the only two characteristics that they possessed in common, their passionate devotion to duty and their sincere love of religion in the form in which they had espoused it, rather than in their distinctive forms of Churchmanship.

Griswold was consecrated, together with John Henry Hobart, lately elected Assistant-Bishop of New York, on May 29, 1811. It had been expected that the consecration should take place at New Haven, where the General Convention of that year held its meeting, but only two bishops were present there: Bishops White and Jarvis. Bishop Moore of New York was paralysed, Bishop Claggett of Maryland was ill and Bishop Madison of Virginia felt that his duties as President of William and Mary prevented his coming north. Jarvis

¹⁵Griswold: *Warning*, 7.

¹⁶Griswold: *Discourses*, 10.

¹⁷Stone: *op. cit.*, 121 and 329-33.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 283.

and White, therefore, went to New York, where Samuel Provoost, the resigned bishop, though himself in feeble health, united with them in the consecration at Trinity Church.¹⁹

As soon as he had been consecrated, Griswold threw himself energetically into the work of his office. At the convention of 1812 he reported the confirmation of 1,212 persons, the number, of course, having been swelled by the long period during which none of the constituent dioceses had enjoyed the services of a bishop.²⁰ Throughout the rest of his episcopate, he made it a practice to visit all of the churches in the Eastern Diocese every year, though throughout nearly all of the same period he continued to serve unassisted as rector of a flourishing parish. He also performed a number of ordinations every year, and he generally managed to attend several of the annual state conventions in addition to the federal convention of the whole diocese, which met first biennially and later annually.

Not content with the conscientious performance of these general duties, Griswold directed his efforts specifically to the overcoming of some of the major obstacles to the growth of the Church under his jurisdiction. One of the most important of these was the shortage of ministers, and to deal with it Griswold constantly endeavored to improve the means of theological education in his diocese. At the time of his consecration the only available means of obtaining such education within the Church was by personal instruction, and to facilitate this process he recommended in 1818 that such of the clergy as were able to do so should receive candidates for the ministry into their households.²¹ As the diocese grew stronger, he sought, with the co-operation of others, to obtain the founding of a diocesan seminary, for, though General Seminary had been founded in 1817, it was found that candidates who went there for their training were sometimes attracted to other dioceses than those from which they came and the predominantly High Church character which it assumed, under the control of Bishop Hobart, after its return to New York in 1821, prevented it from being an entirely satisfactory place for students of the Evangelical party.

The Eastern Diocese as a whole was not closely enough organized to carry out any of the seminary projects, and so they were undertaken by the Diocese of Massachusetts with more or less co-operation from its neighbors. The first of them was started in 1831, when the Rev. John Henry Hopkins, then assistant minister at Trinity Church, Boston, began, with the support of the diocesan convention,

¹⁹William White: *Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Philadelphia, 1820*, 32-3 and 287-8.

²⁰Stone: *op. cit.*, 194-5.

²¹Griswold: *Address to the Convention of the Eastern Diocese, Boston, 1818*, 18-9.

to teach a few students at Cambridge. He was disappointed, however, at the lack of interest shown in his work, and in 1832 he accepted the office of Bishop of Vermont, which withdrew from the Eastern Diocese in that year.²² In 1834 the Rhode Island Convention organized an Education Society to assist "pious and gifted but indigent young men" in preparing for the ministry, but its object was to give them financial rather than pedagogical assistance.²³ In 1835 the Massachusetts project was revived on a larger scale. A committee appointed in that year to consider the expediency of founding a theological seminary succeeded in obtaining pledges of \$32,000 for the purpose, and recommended that the institution should be started as soon as \$100,000 could be raised. At the convention of 1836 the clergy said they thought they could raise \$38,750 and the convention pledged itself to raise \$25,000, while the Diocese of Rhode Island offered \$25,000 for a professorship. The project was commended to the whole Eastern Diocese by the federal convention which met in the fall, but the long and deep depression which swept the whole country in the winter of 1836-7 and the years following, caused many of the pledges to be defaulted and the whole scheme had to be given up.²⁴ It was to be nearly thirty years before a seminary would at last be established at Cambridge, and then it was on the initiative of a generous individual.

In his second great objective, the raising of missionary funds, Griswold was more successful. The Convention of the Eastern Diocese in 1812 had requested the parishes associated with it to take up collections at Easter for the aid of the weaker churches, and this practice was continued with varying success throughout the diocese's existence.²⁵ In 1816 Griswold published a *Charge and Pastoral Letter* (first delivered in 1814) on the subject of missions, in which he observed that "The Gospel has been preached and is now heard in several small parishes, and some are likely to be preserved and raised up by your bounty."²⁶ At the same time, however, he felt constrained to express regret that Episcopalians were not sharing to a greater extent in the revival of missionary interest which was then taking place among Protestants. Throughout his episcopate he continued to impress upon his conventions the importance of raising missionary funds and to urge the settled ministers of his diocese to visit vacant churches whenever they could spare any time from their regular

²²Diocese of Massachusetts, *Journal of Convention*, Boston, 1831, 14-8; J. H. Hopkins: *Life of Bishop Hopkins*, N. Y., 1873, 144-5.

²³Diocese of Rhode Island, *Journal of Convention*, Providence, 1834, 33-4.

²⁴Massachusetts, *Journal of Convention*, Boston, 1836, 46-53; *ibid.*, 1837, 46, Eastern Diocese, *Journal of Convention*, 1836, 19.

²⁵Stone: *op. cit.*, 196.

²⁶Griswold: *Charge and Pastoral Letter*, Boston, 1816, 10.

pastoral duties. In both of these respects he was able to obtain a fair amount of co-operation. He also entered into a correspondence with the secretary of the English Church Missionary Society and was one of the first to propose the founding of a general missionary society in this country.²⁷

The Eastern Diocese, as such, never organized a diocesan missionary society, but such institutions were formed in some of the constituent states in the course of Griswold's episcopate. The Diocese of Massachusetts in 1809 organized the "Trustees of Donations to the Protestant Episcopal Church" and this body was incorporated by the legislature in the following year with a basic fund of \$1,000. Its members were elected by those already in it, and every lay member was required to pay five dollars annual dues or fifty dollars for life membership. Its funds were to be used for the support of the episcopate and for missions.²⁸ In 1818 the diocese secured the incorporation of the "Trustees of the Massachusetts Episcopal Missionary Society" and the "Trustees of the Massachusetts Episcopal Prayer Book and Tract Society."²⁹ The former organization functioned effectively for a number of years, but had become moribund by 1834, and as efforts to revive it in that year and the year following proved unsuccessful, Massachusetts set the precedent in 1836 of making its missionary activities the work of the diocesan convention, functioning through a diocesan board of missions. This institution proved quite successful in raising money, its receipts rising to \$3,203.91 in 1839, though they fell off about a third in the year following.³⁰

Rhode Island organized its missionary society in 1818 and it continued to function with fair success throughout the period with which we are concerned, its work being supplemented by the Clerical Convocation of Rhode Island and its auxiliaries. Maine became a separate state in 1820 and was consequently organized in the same year as a constituent diocese of the federation. It organized its missionary society in 1823, but it had a feeble existence and by 1838 even its records had been lost. In 1842 Maine organized a diocesan board of missions on the Massachusetts model.³¹

Griswold and those under him also shared in the contemporary interest in Sunday Schools. In 1818 he commended such schools to his convention and urged their establishment.³² By the time of his death, most of the states had organized diocesan Sunday School So-

²⁷Stone: *op. cit.*, 236-47.

²⁸*Abstract of the Records of the Trustees of Donations to the Protestant Episcopal Church, Boston, 1870, 1-23.*

²⁹*Massachusetts, Early Journals, 139.*

³⁰*Massachusetts, Journal of Convention, Boston, 1836, 57; 1839, 13.*

³¹*Diocese of Maine, Journal of Convention, Gardner, 1842, 7.*

³²Griswold: *Address to the Convention of the Eastern Diocese, Boston, 1818, 17-8.*

cieties and nearly all of the parishes had Sunday Schools. The character of these institutions had, however, undergone a change during the same period. They were originally founded for the purpose of educating the children of the poor to a point where they could at least read the Bible, but as time went on they became the chief means of providing religious instruction for all of the children of the parish.

Such were the methods and institutions which Griswold employed in building up the Church in New England. Their effectiveness is shown in the statistical summaries which he included from time to time in his convention addresses. In 1818 he was able to say, "I should judge that, at a moderate estimate, the old churches, of which, seven years ago, this diocese consisted, have since doubled the number of their communicants, besides the addition of fifteen or twenty churches . . . which are new."³³ In 1839, three years before his death, he gave a more extensive summary of the growth of the diocese. The fifteen clergymen who had been working in the several states at the time of their organization had increased to about a hundred. In Vermont, where there had been no churches in 1811, twelve had been consecrated and four were being built at the time of its withdrawal from the federation in 1832. In Rhode Island the four churches in use in 1811 had increased to eighteen by 1839, in Massachusetts thirteen churches had grown to thirty-eight, in New Hampshire, where there had been five there were now ten, and in Maine the three old parishes had increased to five. During the twenty-eight years since his consecration, Griswold estimated that he had ordained 148 deacons and 111 priests, confirmed 9,853 souls and traveled 70,000 miles.³⁴ In the last year of his life, 1842, when he was seventy-six years old, he confirmed 1,061 persons, a number which was second only to the record of his first year, when he had the deficiencies of a long vacancy to make up.³⁵

It had originally been supposed that the lifetime of one man would not suffice to bring the Eastern Diocese to a point where its member dioceses would be able to separate and stand alone, but Griswold's effective labors and his longevity combined to contradict this expectation, and only the reluctance of the several states to lose his personal leadership prevented the federation from being divided before his death. Suggestions for its division were, in fact, made from time to time, the first coming from Griswold himself in 1827.³⁶ In 1831 Massachusetts decided to withdraw from the union if it could retain the

³³Griswold: *Address*, 1818, 4.

³⁴*Eastern Diocese, Journal*, 1839, 14.

³⁵*Ibid.*, 1842, 21.

³⁶Griswold: *Address to the Convention of the Eastern Diocese, Boston, 1827*, 10-11.

services of the Bishop, but the proposal was not carried out.³⁷ Vermont did withdraw the year following, and this was the only division that occurred in the diocese during Griswold's lifetime. In 1836 Maine voted to withdraw as soon as it could find support for a bishop, but it was not able to achieve that object until several years after the federation had been dissolved, so the resolution never took effect.³⁸

In 1837 Griswold suggested either electing an assistant bishop or dividing the diocese. If the former expedient were adopted, he advised that the election should be made by Massachusetts, as he doubted that the federation had any constitutional authority to elect an assistant. His advice in this respect was disregarded, however, and the convention resolved to proceed to the election of an assistant at an adjourned meeting, without even resorting to the calling of a special convention. This action excited a good deal of opposition and a pamphlet controversy was waged in the interval before the reassembling of the convention. When that meeting took place, Griswold renewed his suggestion that the assistant be elected by a constituent diocese, and this time he was listened to. The Rev. Alonzo Potter, formerly rector of St. Paul's, Boston, but then Professor at Union College, was nominated by the federal convention with the request that one of its members would elect him assistant. The Massachusetts Convention complied with this request, but Potter, who felt that his obligations to Union had first claim upon him, declined.³⁹ Griswold did not obtain any assistance in his episcopal office until a few months before his death, when Massachusetts elected the Rev. Manton Eastburn of New York, who was chosen rector of Trinity Church, Boston, at the same time.⁴⁰

As an amendment had been adopted in 1838 providing for the dissolution of the federation on the death of the Bishop, the attack of heart failure which terminated Griswold's life on February 15, 1843, brought the history of the Eastern Diocese to a close as well, but before leaving the subject altogether, it is necessary to mention one or two incidents of Griswold's career which could not be fitted conveniently into the general narrative. He remained as rector of St. Michael's, Bristol, until 1829, when he finally accepted a call to St. Peter's Church, Salem, Massachusetts. He continued until 1834, when he gave up all parochial connections to devote himself exclusively to the duties of the episcopate.

³⁷*Massachusetts, Journal of Convention, Boston, 1831, 17-8.*

³⁸*Diocese of Maine, Journals of Conventions, 1820-40, Portland, 1876, 67.*

³⁹*Eastern Diocese, Journal, 1837, 14-5 and 19-20; Journal of Adjourned Convention, Boston, 1838, 14-6; Massachusetts, Journal, 1838, 60-3; M. A. De W. Howe: Memoirs of the Rt. Rev. Alonzo Potter, Philadelphia, 1871, 84-5. Potter subsequently became Bishop of Pennsylvania.*

⁴⁰*Massachusetts, Journal of Special Convention, Boston, 1842, 20.*

In 1824 he had a brief dispute with Bishop Hobart over the ordination of Dr. William Henry Ducachet, a successful physician of Evangelical sympathies, who had become a candidate for the ministry in New York, but whom Hobart had refused to ordain because he was alleged to have made a libelous attack upon a prominent citizen in a funeral oration which he delivered over the body of one of his friends. He then applied for ordination in the Eastern Diocese, and, after he had been duly approved by the standing committee, Griswold ordained him. Hobart contended that this implied a belief that his own refusal had been an act of oppression, but Griswold maintained that it simply implied a difference of judgment, and there the matter ended, after Hobart had aired the grievance in an address to his own convention. Ducachet justified Griswold's confidence in him by a long and useful ministry, serving for many years as rector of St. Stephen's Church, Philadelphia.⁴¹

In 1832 Griswold became involved in the only serious internal controversy that troubled his peaceful episcopate. The leader was the Rev. George Washington Doane, rector of Trinity Church, Boston, who, being a High Churchman and an habitual controversialist naturally became the leader of the opposition in an Evangelical diocese. He had been elected to the standing committee in 1831, and, under his influence, it had refused to approve the ordination of a candidate favored by the Bishop. As a result, at the next convention, some of Doane's supporters were dropped from the committee, though he himself was elected. After his allies had been unsuccessful in reversing the election by a parliamentary manoeuvre, he proceeded to launch an attack upon the convention in a church periodical which he published. He was answered in a pamphlet by his own assistant, the Rev. John Henry Hopkins, who was also a High Churchman, but who had none of the instincts of a partisan. He criticised Doane severely, on High Church principles, for opposing the Bishop in a matter which did not involve a question of conscience, and if the latter's armor was at all pierceable, the pungency of his comments must have given him an uncomfortable moment or two. The controversy subsided quickly after its two chief participants had departed to become bishops, respectively, of New Jersey and Vermont.⁴²

In the latter part of Griswold's episcopate we find allusions to a new factor which was to alter profoundly the character of New England society: the factory system. As early as 1825 he reports that the Merrimac Manufacturing Co. has erected a church in its new village

⁴¹Stone: *op. cit.*, 288-319; F. C. Ewer: *Memorial of the Rev. Henry William Ducachet, Philadelphia, 1866.*

⁴²Hopkins, J. H.: *Defence of the Convention, Boston, 1832; Massachusetts Journal, 1832, 11-6; Hopkins: Life of Bishop Hopkins, 147-55.*

of East Chelmsford,⁴³ and similar references occur more frequently as time goes on.

Griswold's career covers completely the period of quiet expansion which falls in the years between 1811 and the advent of the Tractarian controversy, which did not become bitter in this country until the early forties. Griswold felt its effects in the closing years of his life, but only as a minor irritation, not as a dreadful portent. In 1841 he complained of the internal arrangements of St. Stephen's Church, Providence, and the church at Nantucket, and of the practice of turning away from the people in celebrating the Eucharist.⁴⁴ In 1842 he reported that the Nantucket Church had gotten worse instead of better. Its offenses included the use of an altar instead of a table for Communion, of candles, of a Madonna which was placed above the altar, and of Eucharistic vestments.⁴⁵

After Griswold's death, Eastburn automatically became Bishop of Massachusetts. Rhode Island, in 1843, elected John Prentiss Kewley Henshaw, formerly rector of St. Peter's, Baltimore, its Bishop, and New Hampshire chose Carlton Chase the year following. Maine elected George Burgess Bishop in 1847. Thus within five years after the closing of Griswold's labors there were five bishops (counting Bishop Hopkins) serving within the region where he had been called upon to save the Church from ruin thirty-six years earlier.

⁴³Griswold: *Address to the Convention of the Eastern Diocese, Boston, 1825, 4-5.*

⁴⁴*Eastern Diocese, Journal of Convention, Boston, 1841, 14-5.*

⁴⁵*Ibid., 1842, 12; Stone: op. cit., 437-45.*

EARLY DAYS OF THE DIOCESE OF VIRGINIA

By G. MacLaren Brydon

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND in Virginia, the Established Church of the colonial days, emerged from the Revolution in a most peculiar and difficult position. The part she had taken in the cause of American Independence had been a notable one. The very great majority of her clergy had in 1776 taken the oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth and had continued as far as possible in pastoral work. They had been elected by the people as members of County Committees of Safety in one-third the counties of the State, and had furnished as far as is now known all except one of the chaplains for Virginia regiments and militia, and five of them had borne arms as active participants in military operations* and all of the great Virginian leaders in the Revolution were lay members of the Church, and so sure were they of the loyalty of their Established Church as a native institution that on the day after Congress declared American independence the Virginia Convention as the governing body of the Commonwealth amended the Prayer Book by removing therefrom all prayers for the king and royal family and inserting a prayer for the magistrates of the Commonwealth. Notwithstanding the rapid growth in numbers of Presbyterians and Baptists in the two decades previous to 1776, the majority of the population, certainly in the older sections of the State east of the Blue Ridge mountains, were nominally at least members of the Established Church.

The Church remained the Established Church of the Commonwealth throughout the Revolutionary period, and the Legislature continued to establish new parishes as part of the civil administration and to look to the vestries for the performance of definitely assigned duties, until 1784, when the Anglican Church was disestablished and the civil duties hitherto imposed upon the Vestries were assigned to other groups of officials in every county.

But the very fact of its establishment placed the Church in an

*For a biographical list of the Virginia clergy, and the part taken by each one in the Revolution, see the article "The Clergy of the Established Church in Virginia and the Revolution" in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. XLI.

untenable and intolerable position. The final severance of allegiance to the British Crown in 1776 had appeared both to dissenting bodies and to many members of the Established Church as obviously the time for removing the taxes for support of the Established Church and for abolishing the restrictions enacted into the Colonial laws which were considered as repressive or oppressive to dissenters. The various acts whereby taxes were abolished and restrictions removed were adopted at different sessions of the Legislature, but by the year 1782 every act adversely affecting dissenting Christians had been repealed.

The situation which the Established Church faced, however, was that the laws of the colonial period affecting its organization and government were still in force. The Legislature was the only governing body and had the sole power to establish parishes. The clergy under the law could not assemble with any legislative or other authority. No clergyman could be received as rector of a parish unless ordained by a Bishop in England and approved and recommended by the Governor of Virginia. All the freeholders in every parish, whether dissenters or churchmen, could take part in the election of vestrymen—and in some parishes, especially in the western part of the State, dissenters were in a strong majority and could elect whom they pleased.

The position of the clergy was exceedingly difficult. As the result of the Act of the Legislature adopted December 9th, 1776, remitting all taxes for support of the Established Church, the realization came with all the suddenness of a thunderbolt to every rector and vestryman that after January 1st, 1777, there would not be a shilling available for the salary of a rector or repairs to a church. The whole support of the Church had hitherto come from taxation, and this source was now closed—never to be reopened. How the clergy met the situation and the privations they endured are part of the unwritten history of the times. There were 97 parishes in Virginia in 1776, all having incumbents with the exception of two or, at most, three. Every parish had its glebe farm upon which the minister might raise food for his support. Many of the clergy conducted schools or tutorial classes, but some were compelled to withdraw from the ministry in order to make a living for their families in secular life. Some, not more than fifteen, because of loyalty to the mother country, returned to England or refused to accept charges under the new government. The normal number died or retired on account of age—and there could be no recruits through ordination by English Bishops. Yet in spite of losses from these sources, the years immediately after the close of the Revolution showed that more than half of the clergy

had endured and were still engaged in pastoral work in the State. From "The List of Parishes and Clergy in Them" in the Virginia Almanac for 1787, and other records, it can be shown that more than fifty of the clergy in Virginia parishes in 1776 were still in charge of parishes. A notable record, indeed, of their devotion to their Church.

There were yet more serious factors in the situation of the Church. It had no organization whatever and no power of self-government. Throughout the whole colonial period the Church was simply a group of unrelated parishes. The House of Burgesses legislated for the Church, established new parishes when increasing population required them, fixed the salary of the minister, ordered elections of vestrymen, heard and judged complaints of vestries against their ministers, and ministers or people against their vestries. The Governor approved or disapproved the credentials of ministers seeking to be appointed to parishes. The resident Commissary appointed by the Bishop of London, could and frequently did, call the ministers together in convention, but having met they had no authority to legislate for the Church in any particular. The Commissary at best had little real authority; and there was no Commissary after the Declaration of Independence.

The Church being supported by taxation, the people had never been trained to give to its support—and the long period of war with increasing taxation, the deflation of currency, and loss of export trade, the straining of every nerve in the struggle for political freedom, was not a time in which men could learn to give. Because the Church had never been permitted to organize, it had never developed leaders. The dissenting bodies around it had each one organized its own denominational life and developed its leaders, and its people had learned to give what was needed for its support. The Established Church was pauperized both in power of leadership and in ability to give. Under these conditions it entered upon its new phase of independent life.

The first suggestion of a meeting of clergy to discuss the situation of the Church came from the Rev. David Griffith, M. D., ex-Revolutionary Chaplain and Surgeon, and now rector of Fairfax Parish. In the Fall of 1783 he wrote to the Rev. Dr. John Buchanan, rector of Henrico Parish, suggesting that the latter discuss with clergymen living near Richmond the advisability of having such a meeting. Dr. Buchanan's reply three months later was that the clergy with whom he had consulted feared to have such a meeting lest it should "give alarm to the Sectaries." It was also thought that as the Legislature through the enactment of recent laws had brought the Church into difficulties, the Legislature itself should move in the

matter of giving relief. In spite, however, of so discouraging a reply, Dr. Griffith persisted in his efforts, and as the result a convention of clergy was held in Richmond on June 1st, 1784. How many clergymen were in attendance is not known, as no record of its personnel or deliberations is in existence. But it did prepare and present to the House of Delegates two days later a "Petition of the Clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia in Convention met" signed by Rev. Samuel Sheild as President of the Convention. In this petition the clergy asked that all laws governing the Established Church be repealed, in order that the Church itself might take order as to its own government; that the civil duties resting upon vestries be removed and members of the Church only be permitted to vote in the election of vestrymen. They asked that "The Legislature be pleased to enable the clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia by an act of incorporation to regulate all the spiritual concerns of that Church—alter its forms of worship, and institute such canons, by-laws and rules for the government and good order thereof as are suited to their religious principles." They also requested that provision be made for securing forever to the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia the churches, glebe-lands, donations and all other property belonging to the Established Church. This last petition was especially necessary because the denomination which fought for twenty years to secure the act of the State Legislature sequestrating all property of the "late Established Church" based its demand upon the claim that the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia was a new denomination newly sprung up and had no more right to the property of the Established Church than any other denomination in the State.

In response to this petition, the Legislature abolished the outworn laws and adopted a resolution approving "the incorporation of all religious societies within this Commonwealth which may apply for the same." Under this resolution a bill was passed December 22, 1784, for incorporating the Protestant Episcopal Church; an action which evoked bitter protest from other Christian bodies. No other society of Christians asked for incorporation, and under a storm of petitions the act incorporating the Protestant Episcopal Church was repealed in 1786.

It is worthy of note, however, that the Legislature, while it granted the petition of the clergy to release the Church from the old laws, and guaranteed to the Church forever the possession of all the real estate and other property belonging to the parishes of the Established Church, declined emphatically to incorporate the clergy as the governing body of the Episcopal Church. Nearly every member of the House and Senate either had been or was still a member of a

parish vestry, and under the old regime the vestry (including the minister as a member and presiding officer) had been the governing body in every parish, certainly as far as ownership and administration of physical property was concerned. The Act of Incorporation therefore directed that the rector and vestry of every parish should be a corporation to own and administer the property of the parish and that the Diocesan Convention or governing body of the Church in Virginia should consist of two delegates from each parish elected by the vestry. If the parish had a minister he should be one of the delegates: if there was no minister, the vestry should elect two laymen. In this way there was established in Virginia, as later in the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, the principle that was first introduced into the American Church among all the ancient historic churches of the Christian faith: that the laity should have as of right an active part in the formation of the doctrines and liturgy of the Church. More than that, the Act very obviously placed the balance of power in the hands of the laity.

Proceeding under the Act of Incorporation, the first convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Virginia was formally called, and met on May 18th, 1785. Sixty-nine of the hundred parishes in the Commonwealth were represented by thirty-six clergymen and seventy lay delegates. Of the clergy, all except two had lived and ministered in Virginia throughout the whole revolutionary period. But it was preeminently a layman's convention. "No Convention or Council since," writes Dr. Goodwin, "has enrolled so many distinguished names or numbered so many statesmen of the first rank in the Commonwealth. Twenty of its members held seats as members of the State Legislature, including the Speakers of both the Senate and the House. Nine had sat in the Convention of 1776 and had aided in formulating the Bill of Rights and the Constitution of the State. Four became Governors, four members of Congress, and three adorned the bench of the highest State courts, while two sat in the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States. One was a signer of the Declaration of Independence and one was to hold two portfolios in the Cabinet of the first President."*

It is at once obvious that the laymen, not only because of their numerical majority, but more because of their standing and power of leadership in the life of the State, dominated the Convention and formulated the Canons of their Church according to their own conceptions of what the Church should be in a free State. There can

**Quoted from an address delivered by Rev. Edward L. Goodwin, D. D., before the Council of the Diocese of Virginia, May 18, 1910—printed as an Appendix in Virginia Diocesan Journal for 1910.*

be no question of their loyalty, their devotion to the Church of their fathers, nor their genuine earnestness in planning its formularies for the fuller life of independence and autonomy. And yet as one studies the Canons adopted at this first Convention, one cannot fail to see the strong influence of the conditions of the colonial Church under which they and their fathers had been forced to live for nearly 180 years. None of them had ever seen a Bishop except perhaps when upon some visit to England. They had considered their Virginian parishes as being in a way under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London; they had received the Bishop's Commissary as having some tenuous, ill-defined authority, whose limits nobody knew; they understood that only a Bishop could ordain; but they knew nothing of the spiritual influence and leadership which a Bishop could exert.

On the other hand, they knew that the vestries of their parishes had been the one group in the Church in Virginia which during the colonial period had fought for and won from the Governor, backed by the authority of the Crown, such independence of governmental control as the Church enjoyed—namely, the right to select their own ministers, retain them without induction, and thereby hold in their own hands the power to dismiss those who should prove unworthy of their calling.

One must know the past training and experience of these laymen in order to understand why canons were adopted so much at variance with the life and meaning of the Church as we have come to understand it; or why they were willing at the Convention of 1787 to adopt a resolution asking the two Bishops in America of English ordination, Bishops White and Provoost, to ignore the historic rule that in every consecration of a Bishop three Bishops should act as consecrators, and begging that these two, or either one of them, should consecrate a Bishop for Virginia.

Some of the Canons adopted were as follows:—

11. As we conceive the office of a Bishop, according to the true apostolic institution, differs in nothing from that of other ministers of God's work except in the power of ordination and confirmation and the rights of superintending the conduct of the clergy and of precedence in ecclesiastical assemblies, that office shall accordingly be exercised in this Church, and every bishop after his promotion to the episcopal order shall continue to hold a parish and to do the duty of a parish minister except when he is necessarily employed in the discharge of his episcopal office.

12. No Bishop shall inflict any censure upon, or exercise any power over the clergy under his inspection other

than he is allowed to do by the laws and institutions of the Church made in Convention.

Canons 13 and 14 give the Vestry the sole authority to decide upon the credentials of a minister.

15. The right of presentation or appointing ministers to serve in the parishes shall continue in the vestries, and each vestry shall choose its own minister.

26. Bishops shall be amenable to the Convention, who shall be a Court to try them, from which there shall be no appeal. All accusations against a Bishop as such shall come from the Vestries.

Canon 29 directs that charges against a minister shall be tried by courts selected by lot equally of clerical and lay members of neighboring vestries. Conviction shall be reported to the Convention, who shall pronounce sentence either of reproof, suspension, or dismissal.

41. Ministers and deacons shall wear a surplice during the time of prayer at public worship in places where they are provided; shall wear gowns when they preach where they conveniently can; and shall at all times wear apparel suitable to the gravity of their profession:—such as may distinguish them from laymen.

The tenor of other canons is along the same line. Without perhaps realizing it they were trying to carry out the idea conceived in the minds of the Geneva-bred founders of Virginia in 1607, of forming their Church government along the lines of a Republic of God,—as Bishop Madison is said to have called it to the end of his days,—in which the power of a Bishop would be minimized to the utmost and the authority of the body of the Church exalted.

Beyond organization and the adoption of canons for its government the Convention issued a strong appeal to the members of the Episcopal Church throughout the State, appointed a "Standing Committee of Correspondence" to correspond with similar committees appointed by Episcopalians in other States and selected clerical and lay delegates to a general convention, which had already been called, of delegates representing the Episcopal Church in their respective States.

In 1785 the ecclesiastical as well as the civil situation of America was anomalous. There were thirteen sovereign States whose independence had been recognized by Great Britain, and with no bond of union betwixt them except the Articles of Confederation and the Continental Congress. The Federal Union was still four years in the

future, and each State looked upon itself as an independent and self-sufficient whole. The Episcopal Church was in a similar situation, its members in each State considering themselves an autonomous body. The Journal of Virginia's first convention was issued under the proud title of the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Virginia, similar to the precedent of the Episcopal Church of Scotland. The same thought was in the minds of Churchmen of every Commonwealth, and in each one they were organizing their Church according to their own conceptions and their own ideals. It was exceedingly fortunate that the bond of union in a Federal Church could be established as early as the autumn of 1785 before the divisive elements in different States had grown too strong to be overcome. As it was, the General Convention had to find a way through most difficult problems of differences of thought and administration into the unity of a common liturgy and a national instead of a sectional Church.

With the views as to the office of a bishop expressed in the Canons of 1785, the Convention of the Episcopal Church of Virginia proceeded in 1786 to the selection of a Bishop and to devising ways and means of securing funds sufficient to send him to England for ordination. There was at that time no Bishop in America except Bishop Seabury of Connecticut, consecrated in November, 1784, by the Bishops of the Scottish Episcopal Church. William White in Pennsylvania and Samuel Provoost in New York were elected Bishops by the respective Conventions of these States and were consecrated in England February 4th, 1787. Rev. William Smith had been elected Bishop by the Convention in Maryland, but the General Convention of September, 1786, had declined to recommend him for consecration.* Consequently he was never made a Bishop. It was the strong desire of the churches outside of New England to secure the consecration of three Bishops by Bishops of the Church of England in order that the Episcopate in America might have orders derived in full from the Church of the Mother Country. The Episcopal Church of Scotland had been under the ban of government ever since 1745 on account of the part taken by its leaders in the rebellion of the Scottish Highlanders in that year in the effort to put Charles Stuart on the throne. The story of a past rebellion in Scotland meant perhaps nothing to the American citizens of 1785; but it was a matter of great importance that the weak Episcopal Church in the American States should be in full communion with the Mother Church of England, and they feared that unless future American Bishops should be consecrated by the requisite three Bishops of English consecration, Bishops conse-

*See letter of Rev. David Griffith to Rev. William White of October 20, 1786.

crated in part by English and in part by Scottish Bishops would become a political barrier to close relationship between the Church of England and the American Church. Bishops White and Provoost when consecrated in England had given their promise that they would not join in the consecration of another Bishop in America until there were present three Bishops of English consecration. This fear was held so strongly in America that even the Virginia Convention of 1787, which impatiently tried to cut a Gordian knot by asking Bishops White and Provoost to consecrate their Bishop without waiting for the presence of a third Bishop, refused to adopt a request that they unite with Bishop Seabury in the consecration.* As a matter of fact, no Bishop was consecrated in America until there were three Bishops of the English line present and taking part: when Bishop Seabury with true humility and Christian charity ignored the criticisms that had been made of his Scottish orders and joined with the other three in the consecration of Bishop Thomas J. Claggett for Maryland.

The Virginia Convention of 1786 elected Rev. David Griffith, D.D., as their Bishop. Dr. Griffith was born in New York in 1742 and after his ordination returned in the autumn of 1770 as a Missionary of the S. P. G. stationed at Gloucester and Waterford, New Jersey. In 1771 he came to Virginia as minister of Shelburne Parish, Loudoun County, and remained until the outbreak of the Revolution. He was Surgeon and Chaplain of the Third Virginia Regiment in the Continental Army from February 28, 1776, until March 18, 1779. He became rector of Fairfax Parish, Fairfax County, in 1780 and held that charge until his death, which occurred in Bishop White's home in Philadelphia during the General Convention of 1789. He received his degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Pennsylvania. Dr. Griffith had been the leader in the movement looking to the organization of the Church. He took the first step calling the preliminary convention of 1784, and in spite of discouragement on every side had persevered until the meeting was held. Records of that period are woefully lacking, but the vote he received in his election as Bishop shows that he was the first choice of the Convention.

The Convention issued an appeal to the Church people of the State for contributions of funds to pay the expense of his trip to England for consecration. But Virginia had been bled white through taxation, depreciation of currency, and the giving of her people to support the War, and the money was not forthcoming.

It has been commonly said that Dr. Griffith resigned his election at the Convention of 1789 because of inability to secure the funds necessary for the expenses of the voyage to England. But in his

*See letter of David Griffith to William White, May 28, 1787.

letters to Bishop White written between 1786 and 1789 he intimates clearly cross currents and factional strife in the Convention, which provided at least an added, if not a stronger, reason for his resignation. The picture he draws is not a pleasant one. True, it is the opinion of one man alone, and no records have been discovered as yet showing the other side; and as one man's opinion it must be taken.

The Convention had accepted most of the proposed Articles of Confederation set forth by the General Convention of 1785 and the proposed Prayer Book, and had appointed a Standing Committee as the sole *ad interim* authority in the Diocese. When the Standing Committee received copies of the letter of the Archbishops disapproving the proposed changes in the Prayer Book, and the Act of Parliament giving permission for the consecration of Bishops for foreign countries, they came to adopt the opinion that there was no assurance as yet that an American could be consecrated. Drs. White and Provoost went to England that autumn relying upon the same letter and Act, and were made Bishops, but Dr. Griffith seemed to be prevented from going as much by the attitude of the Standing Committee as by the lack of funds. In his letters he writes Dr. White:—

"I look for nothing but delays and difficulties so long as the present Standing Committee exists, as I know some of the members to be unfriendly to Episcopacy, and that others among them will not be satisfied unless the head of the Church resides in or near Williamsburg and is so pliant that the sole direction of the concerns of religion may be in their own hands." (Letter of October 20, 1786.)

"The Standing Committee met on the subject of the Act of Parliament and were of opinion there was nothing in that or the Archbishops' letter which would justify calling a Convention, 'It appearing still a doubt whether consecration can be obtained in England, or whether the Bishops there will consider the alterations made here (i. e., in the Prayer Book) as sufficiently important in their estimation to justify a refusal of the request that has been made. We suppose they will decide upon perusal of the Book.' The want of money at present is also given as an excuse for not calling the Convention together, which, I think, would be the only thing to hasten the collection of it." (Postscript to letter of October 20th, 1786.)

"But the truth is that some (i. e., in the Convention of 1787) wish to prevent if possible the introduction of a Bishop among them. What other construction can be put upon the conduct of those who not only endeavor to throw difficulties in the way of its accomplishment, but propose such alterations in the Canons as would deprive the Bishop of the right of judging of the qualifications of Candidates for Orders and even compel him to ordain such as were offered

by two presbyters, though himself should not approve of them. They have also ventured to assert the equality of Bishops and Presbyters in primitive times and made attempts to deprive the former of his right of precedency in Ecclesiastical assemblies. . . . The number of these men is very small, but as their intention is disguised with great art, . . . they frequently draw in some well disposed persons to support their measures. . . . There was also another party who . . . hoped . . . to deprive me of a Testimonial. . . . They were, however, disappointed . . . for their conduct was so obviously malicious and mischievous that the Testimonial was signed by more than four-fifths of the members present. The friends of the Episcopal Church (myself in particular) have had, I do assure you, a very disagreeable time of it. But we had also the satisfaction of seeing our opposers foiled in almost all their absurd proposals." (Letter of May 28, 1787.)

In spite of a determination expressed in this last letter to adhere to his purpose of going to England for consecration as soon as the funds were provided, Dr. Griffith eventually decided to give up the attempt, and sent a letter addressed to the president of the Convention called for May, 1788, in which he formally resigned his election. But owing to the failure of delegates to attend, a quorum did not assemble and the Convention did not meet. His letter to the president was returned to him unopened. He finally, with manifestly a sense of relief, presented his resignation to the Convention of 1789 and it was accepted.

One cannot read Dr. Griffith's letters to Bishop White without perceiving the profound spiritual hurt he suffered from the attitude of those who, as it seemed to him, opposed the election of a Bishop and put obstacles in the way of his consecration. The Convention after accepting his resignation elected him a delegate to the General Convention which was to meet that year, and he died while in attendance upon its session.

The Act of Incorporation of the Protestant Episcopal Church was bitterly attacked in the Virginia Legislature in the autumn of 1786. "The Presbyterians," writes Dr. Griffith, "are petitioning for a repeal of the Incorporating Act, and the Baptists for the sale of the Glebes and Churches. It would seem that nothing will satisfy these people but the entire destruction of the Episcopal Church. I know not what will be the issue of this business, as many of our ablest defenders and warmest friends are not in the present Assembly." (Letter of October 20, 1786.)

The Act of Incorporation was repealed by the Legislature, but the Church had already while the law was in force established suf-

ficient organization to permit it to continue in existence. At the Diocesan Convention of 1787 canons were amended to conform to the new status by adding the provisions which had hitherto appeared in the Act of Incorporation. The effort to sequester the glebes, though failing at this session, increased steadily in strength and virulence until final success in the Legislative Act of 1802.

The Convention of 1790, after a year's consideration of possible nominees, elected Rev. James Madison, D.D., as Bishop of Virginia. He was consecrated in Lambeth Chapel on September 19, 1790, by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of London and Rochester. He was a native of the State, born August 27, 1749, and a relative of President James Madison. Graduated from William and Mary College with high honors, he studied law, but instead of entering upon that profession he accepted the professorship of Mathematics at the College in 1773. He went to England for further study in 1775, was ordained, and returned to his professorial duties in 1776. He was elected President of the College in 1777. He received in the same year a commission as captain of Virginia militia and organized the college students into a company, which was called out into active service on various occasions up to and including the Yorktown Campaign in 1781. Dr. Madison, and another Professor of Mathematics, the Rev. Robert Andrews, were appointed by the State Legislature as members, and the official astronomers, of the Commission created to act with a similar Commission from Pennsylvania in locating definitely and finally the boundaries between the western part of Pennsylvania and Western Virginia. The work of this Commission was finally ended in 1784. Dr. Madison also prepared a map of Virginia, which was accepted as standard for many years. Because of his position as President of the College, his services during the Revolution, and his scientific standing, as well as his ability as a preacher, he was easily the outstanding clergyman of the State, and was the first choice of a four-fifths majority of the Convention.

He faced a task which would have been appalling to one who could give his whole time to the administration of his Diocese. To one handicapped as he was by his duties as President of the College, and further tied down by his rectorship of James City Parish (the Jamestown Parish), it was an impossible one.

The College emerged from the Revolution with its physical property almost wrecked, its classes disbanded, its organization destroyed. Dr. Madison's task was to reorganize the faculty, secure students, rebuild a financial structure. He was the dominating guiding spirit in its revival through the exceedingly difficult period of general poverty, and was compelled to hold chairs of different departments to

supply the lack of sufficient faculty. With his Sunday duties at his parish church several miles from Williamsburg and his duties at the College keeping him at home during a ten months' session every year, he had little time for parish visitations or other diocesan administration. Yet with these handicaps what he did accomplish is remarkable. His reports of his first year's work shows fourteen parishes in different parts of the State visited by the slow method of horseback or carriage, and over six hundred persons confirmed in five parishes. All official records of his administration have been utterly lost. They were kept doubtless at the College and were probably destroyed either in the burning of the College in 1859 or the looting during the War Between the States; but from scattering sources we learn of visitations to parishes in later years, and the names of twenty-six men whom he ordained to the ministry. His addresses to the annual Conventions, several of which appear in the Convention Journals, are strong, vigorous charges to his clergy and people calling attention to the needs of the times. But the Church needed the constant active and aggressive leadership which no man tied down as Bishop Madison was could give—a leadership which possibly no man free of other duties could have given if he had considered himself bound to the strict letter of the Canons of 1785 expressing the Convention's conception of the office of a Bishop.

The Bishop upon his return to Virginia after his consecration came to a Diocese which had been constantly growing weaker since 1785. The disorganization was greater, the lack of discipline was becoming more pronounced. During the nine years of peace since Yorktown there had been exceedingly heavy emigration from the older counties where the Church was strong into the new counties of Kentucky and Western Virginia, whither the Church could not follow them. The growing sympathy for France, showing itself in the increasing adoption of French ideas and modes of thought, was leading great numbers of the Church's sons into the deistic denial of belief in revealed religion, which drew increasing numbers of men away from the Christian faith in the following decades. The Baptists, Presbyterians and Methodists were increasing rapidly in numbers and in strength and influence throughout the State.

The loss of the Methodists, who organized as a separate denomination in 1784, was an exceedingly heavy blow to the Church. They had come into Virginia in 1772 as a society within the Church, and had received the encouragement and strong support of the Rev. Devereux Jarratt, rector of Bath Parish in Dinwiddie County. Under his wide influence through adjoining counties in Southside Virginia the Methodist societies had increased rapidly in numbers and

membership. While in other States the Methodists were looked upon as Tories, and some of their leaders were interned during the Revolution, they had in Virginia increased steadily in numbers under the leadership of Mr. Jarratt, who was recognized as loyal to the Commonwealth. As a result there were more Methodists in Virginia at the close of the Revolution than in any other State. Mr. Jarratt tried his utmost to hold them within the Church in 1784 but failed. They had been taught to look to the rectors of their parishes for administration of the sacraments, but in 1784 there was an increasing number of parishes becoming vacant, and there seemed to be no certainty of reorganization of the Church or a Bishop in America to ordain. One wonders whether the refusal of the British Government to permit the consecration of Bishop Seabury in 1783 and 1784 was not the final straw which broke the determination of John Wesley and induced him to "ordain" superintendents for the Methodist societies in America.

Because of their numbers, their strong religious fervor, and their appeal to the common man, the loss of the Methodists was a greater blow to the Church in Virginia than perhaps it was in other States. Bishop Madison felt the loss so keenly that he proposed in the General Convention of 1794 the undertaking of an effort to bring them back into the Church's fold, but his proposal was received with scant favor and nothing was done.

But the condition which did most to bring the Church of Virginia to its ruin was the lack of solidarity, the seemingly entire absence of any conception of the Church as an organized body, and of responsibility on the part of individual clergymen or laymen for the wider interests of the Church outside the local parish. This is shown by the steady falling off of attendance at Conventions. The Convention of 1785 showed the presence of clerical or lay delegates from 69 parishes out of the 100 in the State—36 clerical and 70 lay delegates, a total of 106. In the Convention of 1786 there were 16 clergy and 47 lay delegates, a total of 63—in 1787 the total was 45, in 1788 so few came that the Convention could not meet. In 1789 the total was 33; in 1790, 56 to elect a Bishop; in 1791, 63; 1792, 47; 1793, 45; 1794, 30; 1795, no quorum; 1796, 60 to protest against sequestration of the Church's property; 1797, 61; 1798, no quorum; 1799, 37. With the exception of the years 1803 and 1805 there was no quorum at any attempted meeting of Convention from 1800 until 1812.

And yet this does not seem to be due to any lack of clergy. Over fifty of the clergy of the colonial period held their parishes throughout the Revolutionary period and served for varying numbers of years under the new organization. Twenty-five men went from

Virginia for ordination, five to Bishop Seabury and twenty to Bishop White, before Virginia had a Bishop of its own, and Bishop Madison ordained twenty-six. Indeed, he doubtless ordained a still larger number, as Diocesan records show thirty-six ministers of that period whose ordination has not yet been discovered. The full list shows over 150 ministers at work in the Diocese of Virginia for longer or shorter pastorates between 1785 and 1814. The soft, muddy roads of the springtime were as bad in 1785 as they were in 1900, and many of the clergy supported themselves by teaching. But if they and the laymen had sensed the supreme importance of solidarity and the power of an organized united body they would have come in far greater numbers than they did. The shadow of the old colonial existence as separate individualistic parishes with no relationship of one to another and no power of organization hung over the new Diocese and hampered all its work, and as it turned out, the older generation both of clergy and laity had to pass away before a new generation trained under the institutions of American life could take charge and re-organize the Diocese.

The new Bishop met the clergy and lay delegates of his Diocese at the Convention of 1791 and delivered a strong and earnest address urging his people to labor together for the upbuilding of the Church. At the following Convention he reported that "though he had too much reason to lament that sufficient regard was not paid to the decent support of the clergy in many of the parishes, yet the diligence with which most of the ministers continued to discharge their sacred functions, while it afforded the highest proof of their zeal and piety, yielded at the same time a pleasing hope that the Church would gradually revive."

This comment of the Bishop upon the character of the clergy is worthy of note, because one of the factors which contributed materially to the downfall of the Church in the later years of his episcopate was the evil character of some of the clergy who came into the State. The canons of the Diocese had placed in the hands of the vestry of each parish the full authority to select as their rector any episcopally ordained minister they chose. Neither the Bishop nor any other authority in the Diocese had power either to veto or question the selection made by any vestry. This freedom seems to have borne fearful fruit in the decade prior to 1812. It would appear as if most of the scum of immoral and unworthy men in orders cast out of the life of other American dioceses flocked to Virginia, and were enabled by fair speech to find their way into the rectorship of parishes. Of 99 clergymen ordained after the Revolution and holding parishes within the Diocese, 15 were notoriously and wretchedly unworthy. Drunken-

ness, bigamy, sexual immorality were the charges proved against one or another of them. Some of them remained for a year or two and were expelled, others continued their ruinous course for ten or even fifteen years, carrying the Episcopal Church continually downward and into the deeper contempt of the rest of the community. It was the existence of this group over a period of twenty years which has thrown the unmerited stigma of unworthy lives upon the Episcopal clergy of the period as a whole and brought unto utterly undeserved disrepute the Virginian clergy of the colonial period. The great majority of these unworthy ministers came into the life of the Diocese between 1795 and 1812. After the resolution of the State Legislature in 1799 declaring approval of the proposition to sequester the glebes and other Church property, and the Act of 1802 whereby it was put into effect, the whole organization of the Diocese seemed to collapse. The members of the Church seemed to think as did the Church's enemies, that the taking away of the property of every parish would mean the total destruction of the Church. Only two conventions met between 1799 and 1812. No record of that period appears to have survived, and in the lack of evidence it would seem as if neither the Bishop, the Standing Committee, nor the Convention thought it worth while to attempt to administer discipline. It was a period of utter and absolute hopelessness.

The one subject before the conventions from 1796 to 1799 was the steady increase of sentiment in the State in favor of sequestration, and the futile efforts made by the Convention to resist. Strong resolutions were adopted in 1797 setting forth the grounds of the title of the Protestant Episcopal Church to the glebes, churches and other property in their possession, and the opinion placed on record of Bushrod Washington, Edmund Randolph and John Wickham, three of the most eminent lawyers in the State, "That the Protestant Episcopal Church is the exclusive owner of those glebes, churches, etc.—that title stands upon the same grounds with the rights of private property which have been recognized and secured by the principles of the Revolution and the Constitution; . . . and that any question concerning the right of property in those glebes, churches, etc., being of a judicial nature, must constitutionally be decided by the judiciary, and the judiciary alone."* But the Church was too weak to put up effective resistance, and the blow fell. The Baptist denomination in Virginia in all their histories since that day have claimed that they were the leaders and most influential force in taking away the property of the Episcopal Church. There is no gainsaying their claim, but they were strongly aided by a group, numerous and

**Va. Conv. Journal, 1797.*

influential in the life of the State, of men who in following the denial of Christian faith prevalent in France, had taken a stand in opposition to revealed religion and to any form of organization in the Christian Church.

The Baptists were at this time the strongest and numerically the largest Christian denomination in the State. Alert and vigorous, flushed with success, they pressed with ever increasing force at every meeting of the Legislature for the seizure of the Church's property. Their contention, as stated heretofore, was, first, that the Protestant Episcopal Church was a new denomination entering the life of the State after the Revolution, and had no right whatever to the property of "the late Established Church," and, second, that inasmuch as most of the property in churches and glebe farms of the old State Church had been secured by money raised through general taxation, this property now belonged to the State and should be taken possession of and sold for the benefit of the public. They contended that the action of the Legislature in 1784 in guaranteeing to the Protestant Episcopal Church the full possession of Churches and glebes was *ultra vires* and should not stand. The Legislature in 1799 accepted these contentions and in 1802 enacted a law directing that all real estate owned by the Episcopal Church which in any parish had been acquired by money raised through taxation should be taken possession of by the Overseers of the Poor in their respective counties, after the death or resignation of the present incumbent ministers, and sold, and the money arising from such sale applied to any public purpose except a religious one. It is a noteworthy fact that the Act did not include church buildings. Most of these had been erected with tax-money, and the title by which the Church retained possession of church buildings was exactly the same as the title by which the glebes were held. Why the one class of property was taken and the other left is not explained. The Act exempted from seizure real estate which had been given or devised by the will of any donor. In very many of the parishes in older sections of the State the Church owned real estate or endowment funds which had been received by such gifts. Glebe farms, farms for the care of the poor, farms for the establishment and support of schools were included in this class of property. In the actual enforcement of the law almost all of this property was seized and sold along with the property secured by tax-money. The money arising from the sale of the Church's property was in large part lost or squandered, though several of the counties in Tidewater Virginia still own invested funds established out of the proceeds of the sale of glebe farms and property received by gift.

The constitutionality of the law was attacked and the case was

carried to the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia. Of the five members of this Court, one declined to sit in the case because of personal interest in the matter. The case was argued before the remaining four members and a decision three to one was reached declaring the law to be unconstitutional. Judge Pendleton, the President of the Court, had written the decision, and dropped dead with the paper in his pocket the day before it was to have been publicly announced. Because of his death another member of the Supreme Court of Appeals was appointed, and the case argued again. This second time the opinions of the Judges stood two for and two against its constitutionality and the law stood by a divided decision.

It is of further interest that when later the Overseers of the Poor of Fairfax County attempted to sell the glebe of Fairfax Parish, the case was appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. Christ Church in the town of Alexandria was the Parish Church of Fairfax Parish and, Alexandria being at that time within the District of Columbia, the appeal of its church wardens and vestry lay not with the Court of Appeals of Virginia but with the Supreme Court of the United States. The Supreme Court forbade the Overseers of the Poor to take possession of the property and Christ Church retained possession of the parish glebe.

Under the enforcement of the law the glebes were seized one by one during the following years as the incumbent of each one died or moved away. Suits were brought in several cases to prevent the county from taking possession, but in each case tried in the State courts the suit went against the Church. In most cases no further effort was made after the failure of the highest Virginia court to declare the Act unconstitutional, the general thought being that the Church was doomed. Very little effort seems to have been made to retain even those glebes which the Church had acquired by gift.* The cause of the Church in the eyes of her own children as in the eyes of her victorious antagonists seemed to be irretrievably and hopelessly lost.

The situation was truly deplorable. About a dozen parishes of the 100 in existence in 1784 had never, as far as our records go, seemed to have revived at all. In 47 more the effort to provide continuing salaries seems to have failed and the last known rectors of these parishes died or removed to other dioceses before 1802. In the decade ending in 1812 not more than forty parishes seem to have shown

**St. Paul's Parish in King George County owned two separate tracts of glebe-land, each of which had been given to the Parish. But the overseers of the poor, several of whom had been vestrymen in earlier years, sold both tracts, mentioning in each deed the name of the donor who had given the land to the parish. (See King George County deed books.)*

enough life to be able to contribute at all to the support of their ministers, and into these forty parishes came the unworthy ministers who contributed a moral wreckage to the breakdown of organization of the Church. About twenty parishes succeeded in retaining their ministers through the decade. In many other parishes where the organization had failed, efforts were made by the people to maintain occasional services by securing ministers from neighboring parishes, or sometimes inviting a Presbyterian or Methodist minister to hold services. But in most of the parishes the parochial organization had ceased and the church buildings stood abandoned, the prey of any marauder. The story of the old church buildings is a tragic one. They were considered after abandonment as belonging to the public and in perhaps most cases were used as union churches free to any denomination which could secure a minister. Many were taken possession of by a denomination and were eventually secured, either legally or by right of long use, as the property of that denomination. Many others were claimed by adjoining landowners and used as barns or as store-houses; and in one case the church was actually used as a distillery.* Fonts and communion silver were stolen or desecrated.

The report made to the General Convention in 1814 concerning the State of the Church in Virginia expressed the general opinion within as well as without the State. "From a variety of causes not necessary, perhaps not proper, to detail here, the Church in this State has fallen into a deplorable condition; in many places her ministers have thrown off their sacred profession; her liturgy is either condemned or unknown, and her sanctuaries are desolate. It would rend any feeling heart to see spacious temples, venerable even in their dilapidation and ruins, now the habitations of the wild beast of the forest."†

And yet notwithstanding outward appearance, the Church had continued to live in certain sections of the State in spite of every danger which menaced its life. In the Conventions of the three critical years 1812-14 a total of twenty-three parishes were represented either by clerical or lay deputies at one or more meetings, and indeed two new congregations, one in Richmond and one in Alexandria, had been established in addition to the parish churches in these towns. In a few other parishes ministers had continued to live supporting themselves by teaching school.

Bishop Madison died March 6, 1812, and was buried in the

**It has been estimated that there were about 250 churches and chapels belonging to the parishes in 1784. About 35 of these still standing remain in the possession and use of the Church. Ten or twelve others still standing are held and used by other religious bodies.*

†Gen. Convention Journal, 1814, p. 14.

Chapel of the College whose existence he had done more than any other man to preserve. Aroused by this event, the Diocesan Convention met on May 13th with twenty-five clerical and lay delegates present, and elected Rev. John Bracken, D.D., rector of Bruton Parish, Williamsburg, as Bishop. Dr. Bracken was one of the few remaining clergy of the colonial period, having been ordained in 1772. He was rector of Bruton Parish from 1773 until his death in 1818, and became President of William and Mary College after Bishop Madison's death. The vote by which he was elected Bishop was twenty-two to three. The three who voted against him were two young clergymen recently ordained and a young layman who was soon to enter the ministry, and Dr. Bracken perceived in the vote the protest of a group of young men who saw the need of a leadership which a man of his age could not give. The protest seems to have prevailed, for no effort appears to have been made to secure consecration for Dr. Bracken, and he resigned his election at the following Convention.

This Convention of 1813 was in a very real sense the turning point in the history of the Episcopal Church in Virginia. It had the smallest attendance of any Convention ever held in the Diocese, there being present nine clergymen and nine laymen; a total membership of eighteen representing thirteen parishes. They accepted the resignation of Dr. Bracken as the last gasp of the older dispensation and, displacing the older men from the Standing Committee, placed the reins of government in the hands of three young clergymen, John Dunn of Shelburne Parish (Leesburg), Oliver Norris of Fairfax Parish (Christ Church, Alexandria), and William H. Wilmer of St. Paul's Church, Alexandria. To these three men, and a fourth, William Meade, who was then Assistant Minister in Frederick Parish, the Church in Virginia owes, humanly speaking, her revival. John Dunn, a native of England, had been ordained by Bishop Madison in 1795. William H. Wilmer and Oliver Norris, both natives of Maryland, and ordained in 1809, had come to the churches in Alexandria, and William Meade, the future Bishop of the Diocese, had been ordained deacon by Bishop Madison in 1811.

The fact that the Monumental Church in Richmond, then in course of construction, was soon to select a minister, gave these young men the opportunity to suggest to the vestry of the new congregation that they should go outside the Diocese to call a minister of outstanding ability who might also be elected Bishop of the Diocese. The proposal was accepted. In the early months of 1814 the Rev. Richard Channing Moore, D.D., rector of St. Andrew's Church, Staten Island, New York, was elected to the rectorship and at the Diocesan Convention in May, 1814, he was elected Bishop of the Diocese. He was

consecrated Bishop May 18, 1814 by Bishops White, Hobart, Griswold and Dehon.

The choice was an exceedingly happy one. Bishop Moore had had a notable ministry and great crowds flocked to his preaching. A great preacher and able leader of men, genial and lovable in his personal characteristics, fired with unflagging zeal to preach the Gospel, he came into the shattered and cowed life of the Virginia Church bringing a message of courage and of hope. He was able to enlist the active co-operation of all the diverse elements within the Diocese, and from the first his Episcopate was a period of steady and increasing reorganization and growth. He reports at each of his earliest Conventions the eager welcome with which he had been received in his visitations. In his Convention report in 1815 he writes: "In every parish which I have visited I have discovered the most animated wish in the people to repair the waste places of our Zion, and to restore the Church of their fathers to its primitive purity and excellence. I have discovered an attachment to our excellent liturgy exceeding my utmost expectations." Revival and reorganization of parishes in all the older sections of the State continued with great rapidity, and at every annual convention for fifteen years or more report was made of additional counties entered and other parishes reorganized and started again in new life. The Church had also followed her children across the Alleghany mountains into the newer counties which became the State of West Virginia. By the time of Bishop Moore's death in 1841 the Diocese of Virginia had made for itself an assured place, and had become one of the strong Dioceses of the American Church.

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH AND THE NEGRO RACE

By George F. Bragg, Jr.

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH was the first of all the religious bodies in this country to engage in systematic work among the Negroes. She was the first to open schools for them, and train Negro teachers. She was, also, the first to ordain Negro men to the Christian ministry, and the first to receive a Negro congregation as a parish, with all the rights and privileges possessed by the other parishes, of that particular diocese.

The record shows that as far back as 1695, the Rev. Samuel Thomas, Goose Creek Parish, in the colony of South Carolina, was engaged in such work, and, ten years later, reported ten black communicants, who, with several others, well understood the English language. By that time, he had brought under his instruction as many as one thousand slaves, "many of whom," said he, "could read the Bible distinctly, and great numbers of them were engaged in learning the Scriptures."

Dr. Carter Woodson, in his history of the Negro Church, observes, with respect to this work in South Carolina:

"Manifesting such interest in these unfortunate blacks, their friends easily induced them to attend church in such large numbers that they could not be accommodated. 'So far as the missionaries were permitted,' says one, 'they did all that was possible for their evangelization, and while so many professed Christians among the whites were luke-warm, it pleased God to raise to Himself devout servants among the heathen, whose faithfulness was commended by the masters themselves.'"

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was, possibly, the first organization of any kind to introduce anything like a system of education in the colonies among the Negroes. Two Negro youths were purchased by this Society, set free, and educated as teachers. With respect to this venture, Dr. Woodson says:

"A new stage in the progress of this movement was reached in 1743, when there was established at Charleston,

S. C., a special school to train Negroes for participation in this missionary work. This school was opened by Commissary Garden and placed in charge of Harry and Andrew, two young men of color, who had been thoroughly instructed in the rudiments of education and in the doctrines of the Church. It not only served as the training school for missionary workers, but directed its attention also to the special needs of adults who studied therein during the evenings. From this school there were sent out from year to year numbers of youths to undertake this work in various parts of the colony of South Carolina. After having accomplished so much good for about a generation, however, the school was, in 1763, closed for various reasons, one of them being that one of the instructors died, and the other proved inefficient."

Possibly, in nearly all of the Southern dioceses, up until the outbreak of the War Between the States, the same thing was true, as in South Carolina, except in volume of work. South Carolina very greatly outdistanced all the other dioceses. At the time of the outbreak of the war, more Negro communicants, and Negro Baptisms, were reported in South Carolina than were reported of the white race.

In Maryland, about the same date of the organization of the Negro School in South Carolina, Dr. Bray was instrumental in the organization of two schools, one at Frederick, the other on the Eastern Shore. Some years ago, Mr. Lawrence Wroth, at that time Librarian of the Episcopal Library, Baltimore, in a historical treatise, uttered the following with respect to the Eastern Shore enterprise:

"Mr. Bacon had set an example in the Province in regard to the Christian Education of Negro slaves which was not generally to be followed by either clergy or laity for many generations. It was probably his work among the Negroes which led to the project of founding a sort of manual training industrial school for poor children. In a subscription paper circulated in 1750, he remarks upon the profaneness and debauchery, idleness and immorality—especially among the poorer sort in this province, and asks for yearly subscriptions 'for setting up a charity working school in the Parish of St. Peter's Talbot county, for maintaining and teaching poor children to read, write, and account, and in instructing them in the knowledge and practice of the Christian Religion as taught in the Church of England.' A few months later he had received from a goodly list of subscribers, among them the Proprietary and Lady Baltimore, Cecelius Calvert, and Bishop Wilson, a sufficient fund for the running expenses, and in course of a few years his subscriptions permitted the purchase of one hundred acres of land, and the erection of a suitable brick home and school. Thus, in the

year 1755, and for many thereafter, Talbot county boasted a fine charity school; but, thirty years later, when Bacon and nearly all of the original trustees were dead, it was turned over to the county for use as a poorhouse. The institution seems to have been born before its time, so far as Maryland was concerned."

In brief, all of the Church's effort among the Negroes, previous to Emancipation, was of a patronizing and charitable sort. However, much practical good was realized, but there was no serious endeavor at Church extension among Negroes, nor could such have obtained in the presence of human bondage. The great body of the Church was wholly indifferent to the work of Negro evangelization; but, from the very beginning, from the introduction of slavery in this country, to the present hour, there has been a militant "minority" of white men and white women who have lost no opportunity to work for the best interest of all, black and white, and such have co-operated in preserving to the Church "an open door" to the colored race.

A quotation from one of the lectures of the late Bishop of Texas, Rt. Rev. Dr. George Herbert Kinsolving, delivered at the Virginia Theological Seminary, February, 1902, indicates most clearly why we have failed in the past, and are continuing such failure. Said this dear friend of the black man:

"Here in our own dear Southland we have a race alien to ourselves, and I advance the suggestion with all humility, yet in all seriousness and earnestness, whether the main obstacles in the work today of evangelizing the Negro and raising him up to the measure of his full capacity as a human being, is not owing to a considerable extent to our own egoism and self-righteousness, and to our self-assertion of superiority, and to our persistent, self-willed abasement of a fellow-creature of like passions with ourselves. The Saviour said: 'Whosoever shall say unto his brother, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell-fire.' Canon Mozeley, in one of his profound sermons (the greatest sermons since the days of Bishop Butler), has elaborated the principle of the Saviour's declaration into showing how contempt for our fellow-man is akin to murder, and is to be punished with hell-fire. Describe it how we may, contempt for our fellow-man is one of the chief hindrances in the way of the evangelizing of the Negro and of all other peoples. Mutual contempt, if you please, but our share in the contempt is what concerns us, and for which we are responsible. In years gone by we treated the slave with contempt, and not as a brother. We refused him Christian marriage, and family life, and education. We trafficked in human flesh and blood, and we suffered the consequences. . . . And we are in

danger of a modified repetition of this offense in our attitude towards the Negro now. We have eight or nine millions of them in the South at the present time, with only about one hundred clergymen of our Church working among them, and the Church giving the paltry sum of \$72,000 per annum! The State laws are alienating and segregating the races more and more sharply each year. It is true that the different States are doing a vast deal for the secular education of the Negro. In my own State the Negro institutions rank with the best. But they all are on race lines, and the several religious bodies have handed the Negroes over to themselves, and their churches are a kind of Jim Crow car arrangement, and they have their own compartments for whites. Our Southern Bishops are almost the last bond uniting the two races, and popular demand may snap and sunder even this at no very distant day."

Bishop Atkinson, another noble Virginian ere the smoke of the Civil War had cleared came bravely forward in North Carolina, battling in the face of hard, bitter and unrelenting prejudice, established St. Augustine's College for the education of the colored race, organized colored parishes and had them admitted into union with his diocesan convention. And when the Standing Committee refused to pass the papers of a colored candidate for holy orders, invited two "Yankee" Negro priests from the North to come into his diocese, and admitted them to full privileges in his convention. Other Southern Bishops labored earnestly to do the same thing, but could not.

"God moves in a mysterious way His wonders to perform." It was reserved for poor, and almost helpless, Negro priests, to become "founders" and initiate the real constructive, self-respecting work of the Church in the great centers of Negro population.

In all of the following cities, as well as at points elsewhere, the work of the Episcopal Church among Negroes was founded by Negro clergymen through struggle with poverty and the indifference of the great body of the Church: Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, New Haven, Detroit, Washington, D. C., St. Louis, Chicago, Atlantic City, Asbury Park, and Wilmington, North Carolina.

The one lone Negro parish in the South emerging from antebellum times, St. Mark's, Charleston, S. C., made up of well-trained colored Churchmen from various parishes in South Carolina, after having organized, entirely supporting themselves, and having a white priest as their rector, was denied membership in the diocesan Convention and has remained in ecclesiastical exile to this day, long after the Civil War.

The few colored churches organized in the North previous to the

Civil War were organized by colored men and in accord with their own wishes. As a matter of fact, the first colored church with a colored minister of *any denomination* was a colored Episcopal Church. This congregation initiated the principle upon which all subsequent colored churches in the North (where the colored race took the initiative) were constituted.

On the 12th day of April, 1787, the "Free African Society" was organized in the city of Philadelphia. A few days before, on a Sunday morning, this group of Africans had been "insulted" while attending worship in St. George's Methodist Church. They withdrew and organized themselves into the Free African Society. This is the *first* organization of any kind on record consummated by members of the African race. Very soon this organization changed itself into an "undenominational" African Church. They solicited money and erected an edifice. Following the dedication of the church, July 17th, 1794, they met and resolved to connect themselves with the Episcopal Church; provided, however, the Episcopal Church accede to three conditions. First, they were to be received as an organized body; in the second place, they were to be guaranteed local control of their own affairs forever; and, lastly, one of their number should be licensed as a Reader and, if found fit, regularly ordained as their pastor. The Episcopal Church readily and heartily accepted the conditions and St. Thomas Church was received into union with it and given every privilege possessed by the other parishes.

In this church a year later Bishop White ordained Absalom Jones as its minister. Twenty-nine years after, in the same Church, Bishop White ordained William Levington to the ministry. Mr. Levington came to Baltimore the same year and with the model of St. Thomas founded St. James First African Church. The first Negro ordained in St. James Church, 1843, Eli Worthington Stokes, proceeded to New Haven, Conn., and founded St. Luke's Church, which was duly admitted into union with the diocesan convention of Connecticut, June, 1844. Mr. Stokes removed to Liberia, West Africa, where he wrought faithfully and finally died.

In the forties a talented colored Baptist minister, Parson Munroe, came into the Church in Detroit, Mich., and being ordained by the Bishop of Michigan, became the founder of St. Matthew's Church, Detroit. In this Church in Detroit James Theodore Holly renounced "Romanism" and was ordained to the ministry by the Bishop of Michigan. Shortly thereafter he visited the Republic of Haiti and, returning, was ordained to the priesthood and given the charge of St. Luke's Church, New Haven, while organizing his colony to settle in the Republic of Haiti. In 1861 or 1862 Dr. Holly emigrated to

Haiti at the head of the colony constituted by him. There he worked at his trade (shoe-maker), directed the colonists, organized the Convocation of Haiti, and, as its Dean, came to this country in 1874, arranged a concordat with our House of Bishops, and by them was ordained the first Bishop of the Haitian Church. For years he worked in poverty amidst superstition, neglect and oppression. But he succeeded in laying a strong foundation in that Negro Republic.

We might tell of the labors and sacrifices of Alexander Crummell, at Washington; of Cassius Mason, in St. Louis; of James E. Thompson, in Chicago; of C. O. Brady, in Wilmington, N. C., and of James N. Deaver, in Atlantic City, and of others, but space does not permit.

Whenever the Episcopal Church gives a genuine interpretation with respect to the Negro, of the *spirit* of the words of St. Paul, "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free . . . for ye are all ONE in Christ Jesus," and treats her Negro priests as men and not as children, then will she reap the harvest among the race destined by the Almighty God. Until then she will continue to mark time.

The late Bishop Henry Codman Potter, of New York, in preaching at the Centennial of St. Thomas Church, Philadelphia, in October, 1894, said:

"I do not think it would have been very strange if the colored race, after it had been freed, should have refused to follow the white people's God. It shows a higher order of intelligence and an acute discernment in the African race to have distinguished the good from evil, in a religion that taught all men were brothers, and practised the opposite."

JAMES HERVEY OTEY—FIRST BISHOP OF TENNESSEE

By Bishop Thomas Frank Gailor

AS AN INTRODUCTION to this story of Bishop Otey's life it is interesting to note how it was linked up with the lives of three other young men.

In 1822 James Hervey Otey, after serving for several years as a tutor of Latin and Greek in the University of North Carolina, rode on horse-back over the mountains into Tennessee and opened a boys' school in the little town of Franklin, about twenty miles south of Nashville. There he met a young man, named Piper, who had achieved notoriety by trying to carve his name above Washington's on the Natural Bridge in Virginia. Piper loaned Otey a Prayer Book, out of which he read prayers at the opening of his school, and the use of that book had such influence upon Otey, that, when he returned to North Carolina the following summer, he went to see a college friend, the Rev. William Mercer Green, and was baptized by him and soon afterwards confirmed by Bishop Ravenscroft. After two years in charge of a school at Warrenton, he was ordained to the diaconate and priesthood by the same Bishop. In 1827 he returned to Tennessee, reopened his school in Franklin, and held service and preached in the Masonic Hall on Sundays, where some of the people, not accustomed to a responsive service, said that it was interesting to "hear a man's wife jaw back at the preacher."

Meanwhile, a young North Carolinian of distinguished family, Leonidas Polk, had entered the West Point Military Academy and there had come under the influence of the eloquent young Chaplain, Charles P. McIlvaine, and was baptized by him in the presence of the whole cadet corps and presented for confirmation. After graduation Polk resigned from the Army, attended the Theological Seminary of Virginia and was ordained by Bishop Moore. Two years later he moved to Tennessee and served under Otey as Rector of the Church in Columbia.

It is interesting to know that these four young men became Bishops—Otey the first Bishop of Tennessee, Green the first Bishop of Mississippi, Polk the first Bishop of Louisiana, and McIlvaine Bishop of Ohio.

James Hervey Otey was born near the Peaks of Otter in Virginia on January 27th, 1800. His father and grandfather had served with distinction in the Revolutionary War, and he was sent to finish his education in the University of North Carolina. There his striking physique (he was six feet and three inches tall) and his black hair and eyes and swarthy complexion won for him among the students the nickname of "Cherokee." Soon after his graduation he married Eliza Pannell, of Petersburg, Va., and, as has been said, removed to Tennessee, and was elected its first Bishop and consecrated in Philadelphia on January 14th, 1834, by Bishop White, the Presiding Bishop, assisted by Bishops Henry U. Onderdonk, Benjamin T. Onderdonk and George W. Doane. Bishop Doane preached the sermon. Bishop Otey often expressed his admiration and reverence for the venerable Bishop White.

In his first address to his diocesan convention Otey insisted upon the urgent need of an institution of sound learning in the South-West under the auspices of the Church, and this subject was frequently referred to in his sermons and speeches, until it was brought to definite realization by his one-time assistant, Bishop Polk of Louisiana in 1859. So that it may be truly said that the University of the South, at Sewanee, was conceived by Otey and brought into being by Leonidas Polk, and was revived and refounded by Bishop Quintard after the Civil War.

For nine years Otey acted as Bishop of Tennessee, Mississippi, Arkansas and the Indian Territory. His journeys on horseback or by stage often lasted four or even five months through this vast field, and more than once his visits extended through Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia and Florida. The risks and hardships he encountered on these trips can hardly be imagined, as the following quotation from one of his letters suggests:

"If I had any curiosity to see the Red Man in his native state, it has been fully gratified. The first day's ride of forty miles through mirey bottoms took us on a trail over hills, along the tops of mountains, and then through bogs and swamps, horrible beyond conception. Once we got into a low bottom, covered with water between knee-deep and saddle skirts in every direction, as far as the eye could see. . . . We arrived at the bank of a creek, which last night's rain had made impassable, and we had to camp in the wet bottom, the air chilly and the snow still falling."

This was a sample of many journeys through thousands of miles. Now and then the Bishop's sense of humor was appealed to. He was fond of playing the violin, which he often carried with him. And

on one occasion, having held service and preached at night in a strange town, he returned to the hotel, put on his dressing gown and slippers, got out his violin and began to soothe his feelings with an old-time melody. Suddenly the door of his room was thrown open by the Negro porter, who called out in a panic: "Boss, Boss, For God's sake stop playing dat ar fiddle. There's a Bishop in the house."

In 1850 the Diocese of Mississippi was strong enough to elect its own Bishop and Otey was happy to act as consecrator for his old friend William Mercer Green. It was not surprising, that his arduous journeys and incessant labors should have weakened his vigorous constitution, and so, by the advice of his physician he decided to take an ocean voyage. He sailed for England on April 12th, 1851. He was twenty-seven days on shipboard and suffered for the want of many comforts which his weak condition of health required. In England he found friends, who gave him a cordial welcome, and at the Jubilee meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in St. Martin's Hall, at which Prince Albert presided, he made an address that produced a profound impression and was cordially acknowledged by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

His friend, the Rev. Dr. Arthur Cleveland Coxe, afterwards Bishop of Western New York, accompanied him on a tour through the north of England, Scotland and Ireland, and, after three months on the continent, with his health greatly improved, he returned to his diocese in March, 1852, and resumed his active missionary work. But the loss of three of his children and the death of his dear wife and of his brilliant and devoted young friend, the Rev. Philip W. Alston, together with his increasing physical infirmity, made him feel, that he had reached the end of his labors.

A letter from him at this time to Dr. Quintard is full of pathos.

"I have visited," he says, "on an average, every congregation of my diocese twice a year. I have travelled by all sorts of conveyances, in all weathers—storm and sunshine—have preached, labored and taught from house to house; have traversed mountains and the lonely wilderness, where no man dwelt; and have left no expedient untried to make full proof of my ministry. I have gone generally over the South West, and at one time the limits of my spiritual jurisdiction, laid upon me by the Church, were Kentucky and Missouri on the North, to the Gulf of Mexico on the South, and stretching between the Eastern shores of Florida and the Pacific Ocean."

The Civil War, which he had tried in vain to avert by letters to Northern Bishops and to members of the Cabinet in Washington,

was a final blow to his spirit, and he died in Memphis, in the new Episcopal residence, which had been built for him, on April 23d, 1863, after receiving the Holy Communion at the hands of the Rev. Dr. Richard Hines. In his will he requested that he should be buried in the shadow of St. John's Church, Ashwood, the scene of his early ministry, and that his tomb should bear the inscription: "James Hervey Otey, First Bishop of the Catholic Church in Tennessee." The provisions of his will were carried out and today the Bishops and clergy of the diocese hold an annual service at his grave and commemorate the life and work of a great Bishop, Ho Doulos Iesou Christou, the servant of Jesus Christ.

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN CHURCH

1774

THE following extracts from Aitken's General American Register for 1774 have been given for publication by Mr. Alexander B. Andrews, of Raleigh, North Carolina, who owns a copy of this very rare volume.—(EDITOR.)

A LIST OF THE PARISHES AND THE INCUMBENTS IN THE COLONY OF MARYLAND 1774

In Baltimore County:

St. George's, William Edmondson
St. John's, Hugh Deans
St. Thomas,
St. Paul's, Thomas Chase

In Ann Arundel County:

Queen Caroline, James McGill
St. Margaret's Westminster, Robert Renny
St. Anne's, John Montgomery
All Hallows, David Love
St. James, Walter McGowen.

In Calvert County:

All Saints, Thomas Clagett
Christ-Church, Francis Lauder

In St. Mary's County:

King and Queen's,
All Faiths,
St. Andrew's,
William and Mary, Moses Jabbs.

In Charles County:

Durham,
William and Mary,
Port Tobacco, Thomas Thornton
Trinity,

In Prince George's County:

Queen Ann's, Jonathan Boucher
St. Paul's,
King George's, Henry Addison.

In Frederick County:

Prince George's, Alexander Williamson
All Saints, Bennet Allen

In Cecil County:

St. Mary Anne,
St. Stephens,
St. Augustines,

In Kent County:

St. Paul's, Robert Read
Chester, John Patterson
Shrewsbury, George Wm. Forrister

In Queen Ann's County:

Christ Church, Mr. Sandrum*

St. John's,
St. Paul's, Hugh Neal
St. Luke's, Samuel Keene

In Talbot County:

St. Peter's, John Barclay
St. Michael's, John Gordon

In Dorchester County:

Dorchester, Neil McCallum
Great Choptank, Philip Hughes, D. D.
St. Mary Whitechapell,

In Somerset County:

Somerset, Hamilton Bell
Stepney, John Scott
Coventry, Samuel Sloane

In Worcester County:

All Hallows, John Ross
Worcester.

CLERGY OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE COLONY
OF DELAWARE, 1774

Rev. Aeneas Ross, Missionary at New Castle.

Rev. Philip Reading, Missionary at Appoquinimink in New
Castle County.

Rev. Samuel Magaw, Missionary at Dover in Kent.

Rev. Mr. Lyons, Missionary at Lewes in Sussex.

**This is a typographical error in the Register; the name should be Landrum*

—(EDITOR.)

THE UNITED CHURCHES OF CHRIST-CHURCH AND ST. PETER'S
IN THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA

Rev. Richard Peters, D. D., Rector
 Rev. Jacob Duche, M. A.
 Rev. Thomas Coombe, M. A. } Assistant Ministers.
 Rev. William White, M. A.

These united Churches were incorporated by Charter from the Honorable proprietaries of the Province, bearing date June 24, 1765, by the Name of "The Rector, Church-Wardens and Vestry-men of the United Episcopal Churches of Christ Church and St. Peter's Church in the City of Philadelphia, in the Province of Pennsylvania."

The Present Church-Wardens
 Mr. John Wilcocks Mr. Joseph Redman

The Present Vestry-Men

Jacob Duche
 James Humphreys
 John Gibson
 Benjamin Chew
 Edward Shippen
 Samuel Powel
 James Biddle
 Michael Hillegas
 Francis Hopkinson
 Peter Knight

} Esquires.

Joseph Sims
 Joseph Stamper
 Benjamin Wynkoop
 Thomas Cuthbert
 Charles Stedman
 Joseph Swift
 Peter Dehaven
 Dr. John Morgan

} Gentlemen.

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA

Rev. Mr. William Stringer, Minister.

The Present Church-Wardens
 Mr. Ephraim Bonham Mr. John Wood

The Present Vestry-Men

William Standley	George Goodwin
Plunket Fleeson	Alexander Bartram
John Palmer	George Bartram
John Young, sen.	Christopher Pechin
Emmanuel Josiah	Joseph Turner
Jonathan Beers	Thomas Leech
John Young, jun.	William Shute
Richard Renshaw	Lambert Wilmore
George Claypoole	David Hall.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Centennial History of Saint Bartholomew's Church in the City of New York. 1835-1935. By E. Clowes Chorley, D. D., L. H. D.

Ordinarily the history of any individual parish would arouse only a lukewarm interest. Such a book may be a source of temporary pride to the limited group of people whose affairs are reflected in it, and a decent memorial to various names which otherwise might be forgotten; but the general public will pass it by unread.

Sometimes, however, there occurs the rare conjunction of the history of a parish of which there is a vivid tale to tell and an author of that history who is no mere scribe of names and dates, but one who sees his subject with sweep and imagination. Such a book is this new Centennial History of St. Bartholomew's Church. It is the record of one of the great parishes of America, which has been singularly blessed by great leaders, and which has responded to that leadership with boldness. St. Bartholomew's sought as its historian the man who perhaps knows more about American Church History than any other available writer and has known at intimate range what St. Bartholomew's has stood for and stands for now. Dr. E. Clowes Chorley has set in this book a standard to which all subsequent parish histories may well wish they could conform.

The book begins with a delightful chapter entitled *Looking Backward*, in which Dr. Chorley recreates the background of life in that year of 1835 when St. Bartholomew's Parish began. New York, as he reminds us, was then just a good sized town. "When the first church was built the population was about 260,000; at the time of the removal from Lafayette Place to Madison Avenue it had grown to 600,000 and in 1918 when the present church was erected in Park Avenue it was estimated at six millions. . . . The city was guarded by some six hundred watchmen who were on duty from sunset to sunrise. When not asleep on post they called the hours of the night, rang the watchmen's bell, gave alarms of fire and hung a lighted lantern on a pole to indicate the location of the fire."

Then follows a chapter on *The Beginnings* and one on *Early Parochial Life*, which recount the events of the organization of the

parish and the building of the first church, of which it was said that "architecturally the exterior of St. Bartholomew's was severely plain as were most of the New York churches." It is a far cry from that first building to the noble and colorful one which stands on Park Avenue now.

The first three rectors of the parish were Charles Vernon Kelly, Lewis Penn Witherspoon Balch, and Samuel Cooke. None of the readers of the Centennial History will remember the first two of these, and few will remember the third; but there are many who will feel their own personal interest strike fire as they read the chapter which tells of the ministry of the fourth rector of St. Bartholomew's, David Hummel Greer, of whom and of whose ministry Dr. Chorley draws a rich and beautiful picture, and one which only a historian of his wide knowledge could have drawn. For one sees here the thought and purpose of Dr. Greer outlined against the changing conditions of a time in which old theologies and old conceptions of the Bible were being abandoned and in which there was needed a "preacher who could interpret the old faith in the light of the new knowledge; bring out of the treasury things new and old, and harmonize reason and revelation. Such a man was found in David Hummel Greer. It was not long before New York knew that a prophet had appeared in St. Bartholomew's Church, and soon the empty pews were filled. For sixteen years a large congregation gathered Sunday after Sunday to listen to stimulating sermons and the fame of St. Bartholomew's grew. As Greer once laughingly said to a friend—"I preach to the United States.'"

After David H. Greer had been elected Bishop-Coadjutor of New York, he was succeeded by the brilliant and fearless Leighton Parks. As the only one of the former rectors of St. Bartholomew's now living, Dr. Parks is known and loved by many friends who miss the dynamic leadership which he always gave not only in his own parish but in the whole field of the Church's thought and life. He it was who led the movement which transferred the location of St. Bartholomew's from the site of its second building on Madison Avenue and Forty-fourth Street to its present commanding situation among the hotels and apartment buildings of Park Avenue. Much is told by Dr. Chorley of what Dr. Parks did during his rectorship. It could be wished that he had lengthened his record and told us more at length and specifically of Dr. Parks' preaching, for no bolder and more intrepid and careless-of-consequence prophet was known in his generation in New York. Memories are short, and it is a pity that Dr. Chorley did not refer in more than one sentence to a sermon which burst like a high explosive shell in the ranks of ecclesiastical con-

formity. 'When a comparatively small meeting of the House of Bishops issued the famous Dallas Pastoral Letter and sought to impose a literal interpretation of the Virgin Birth, Dr. Parks girded up his loins and preached the most outspoken sermon New York had heard for three generations. His intensest loyalties were for the Truth, no matter whence it came or whither it might lead.' Those who remember the reverberations of that sermon must wish that Dr. Chorley had included part of it in this memorable book.

After Leighton Parks came the shining figure of Robert Norwood, whose radiant message is reflected in perhaps the finest chapter of this history. Not only does Dr. Chorley make plain his greatness as a preacher, which all men knew; he reveals also what not all of the crowd understood, his genius for personal ministry.

"The large story of Robert Norwood's intimate personal ministry is written only in the Book of Life. Day by day his office hours were crowded with those who came seeking his counsel. Countless numbers of all sorts and conditions of men and women were drawn to St. Bartholomew's by his ever-widening fame, to discover not only a preacher of surpassing eloquence, but also a man of great understanding of heart and life; a man who sensed their perplexities and handled their difficulties with sympathetic insight. One by one they found their way to the quiet book-lined room where he loved to sit and muse, all seeking spiritual directions. Here also came the curious, the self-confident, prating of their right to self-expression and knowing no law but themselves." These got short shift. But the genuinely troubled, stretching out lame hands of faith found in him a pity matching their pathos."

Of the ministry of the present rector, George Paull Torrence Sargent, now in the early period of his growing contribution to the long and rich history of the parish, Dr. Chorley tells naturally in a briefer way, but as Dr. Parks, in the Foreword which he has contributed to the History wrote, "under Dr. Sargent's leadership those who love St. Bartholomew's will find new and broader opportunities for service and the strength which was 'yesterday, today and forever.'"

The final comment on this Centennial History may well be a word of gratitude and praise for its extraordinary completeness as a record. Dr. Chorley has not dealt with the rectors only. He has told of the men who made the music of St. Bartholomew's the noble thing it is. He has given a list of all the assistant ministers, and brief biographical sketches of the wardens and vestrymen who have served the parish since it began. There is a description also of the architecture of the present church; and the book, which is finely printed, is adorned with

numerous pictures of rectors, organists, and vestrymen, and of the exteriors and interiors of the three church buildings in which St. Bartholomew's congregation has worshipped through these hundred years.

WALTER RUSSELL BOWIE.

History of Saint Luke's Church in Allston. By Grace Whiting Myers, 1934, pp. 42.

Within the compass of less than fifty pages the writer of this book has told the full story of the only parish of the diocese of Massachusetts which was organized during the brief episcopate of Philips Brooks, and which particularly interested him because it was a venture of young people, most members of the vestry being in their twenties. It is well done. Nothing of importance in the life of the parish has been omitted and it includes a list of the names of those who served the church in an official capacity together with their years of service. This publication is an illustration of what might be done in many parishes to preserve a record of their history and thus contribute to the history of the Church at large.

The Beginnings of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut. By Origen Storrs Seymour, 1934, pp. 30.

This valuable sketch is issued by the Committee on Historical Publications in connection with the Tercentenary of the State of Connecticut and is beautifully printed by the Yale Press. Mr. Seymour, who is Chancellor of the Diocese of Connecticut, has outlined with necessary brevity but great clarity the beginnings of the Church of England in a hostile atmosphere. The brief Bibliography is somewhat inadequate. It is confined to the works of Beardsley. Mention should have been made of the extremely valuable contribution of Dr. Hawks in his two volume Documentary History of the Church in Connecticut which was based on unpublished documents.